new masses

VOL. LXII, NO. 4 · JANUARY 21, 1947 · 15¢; IN CANADA 20¢

WALL STREET IMPERIALISM CHECKED BY WORLD RESISTANCE

by William Z. Foster

FOG OVER THE AIR WAVES

by Howard S. Benson

LENIN THE LIBERATOR

by John Stuart

WHAT YOU CAN OWN UNDER SOCIALISM

by Mikhail S. Lipetsker

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

just a minute

THE first time we met J. B. S. Haldane, we encountered a giant towering beside a frail International Brigader charged with guiding him to the front in Spain. Prof. Haldane came to the war-scarred land to speak to the volunteers from his nation, as well as to visit Dr. Juan Negrin, premier of the Loyalist republic. The soldier, a lad from London's East End, fidgeted nervously with his responsibility; the duty of getting the great British scientist to the front-line trenches and bringing him back to Barcelona loomed as a terrific task. The Messerschmitts had taken to strafing the highways and the truck carrying the great scientist was traveling in broad daylight. So the little Cockney guide kept one eye on the skies, and one eye unhappily on his charge.

Prof. Haldane, clad in a great overcoat, his British mustache bristling, asked us sadly if there were some way in which he could escape his young guide. He couldn't get a moment off by himself without the twenty-year-old infantryman objecting. "I've got to get you there safe and get you back safe," he said doggedly, and nothing could deter him from discharging that order.

The scientist wished to wander off, now and then, to look about, but, his guardian warned, he did not know the ways of the Messerschmitts, which had a knack of appearing as a couple of dots on the horizon and being on top of you before you could say tri-nitrotoluene. And so we came upon the two with the renowned scientist plaintively murmuring that half a century or so had taught him a thing or two about taking care of himself, and the youngster replying apologetically, but nonetheless firmly, "I got to get you there safe and back safe."

The scientist, a great friend of Loyalist Spain, later conducted dangerous important experiments jointly with Dr. Negrin during the recent war in which both subjected themselves to perilous pressures in the course of learning the ways of bomb blast. Prof. Haldane was never one to play it safe, and his researches on behalf of mankind have made him a respected and beloved figure in every civilized country. His scientific drive as well as his love for humanity brought him to Marxism and he became a leading member of the British Communist Party, serving on the editorial board of the London *Daily Worker*.

We are more than happy to welcome him to our shores and we wish to express the affection thousands of American progressives have for him at a meeting at Webster Hall, 119 E. 11 St., New York City, on Thursday, January 23. (See back cover.)

Professor Haldane will speak on the us and abuse of science today: its eternal im plications for the good of mankind as wel as the horrors it can visit upon us if th warmakers have their way. We are certain al NM readers will come, with their friends to hear Prof. Haldane. Fortunately, it i not a matter now of "getting him ther safe and back safe," but we hope this meet ing will show him the affection and regar progressive America, too, has for him And it will provide plenty of food fo thought afterward.

There's another place we will meet man of our readers — at the Lenin Memoria meeting in Madison Square Garden, th evening of January 22. Highlighting tha evening will be that *sina qua non* of ou life today—friendship between the Sovi Union and the US. Prof. Haldane will shar the platform with William Z. Foster, Rol ert Thompson, John Williamson, and ou good friend and associate editor, Albert I Kahn, co-author of that invaluable boo *The Great Conspiracy*.

AMONG our contributors: Dan Davi whose first short story appears in th issue, is a dress cutter, a member of th Los Angeles local of the Internation Ladies Garment Workers Union. Willia Z. Foster, author of numerous books an pamphlets, is chairman of the Communi Party USA. Howard S. Benson, a free-lan script writer, is working on another rad piece for NM. Jean-Richard Bloch, not French novelist, is at present editor of t Parisian daily, *Ce Soir*.

J. N.

new masses

established 1911

EDITORIAL BOARD:

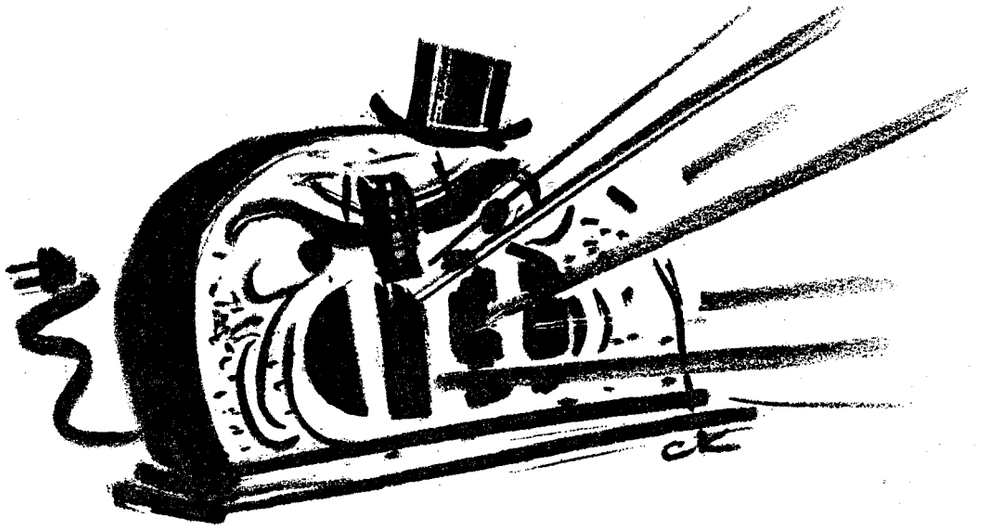
STAFF: editor: JOSEPH NORTH. executive editor: A. B. MAGIL. managing editor: LLOYD L. BROWN. FREDERICK V. FIELD, JOHN STUART. washington editor: VIRGINIA GARDNER. art editor: CHARLES KELLER. assistant editors: JOSEPH FOSTER, CHARLES HUMBOLDT. ASSOCIATES: JAMES S. ALLEN, HERBERT APTHEKER, RICHARD O. BOYER, HOWARD FAST, WILLIAM GROPPER, V. J. JEROME, ALBERT E. KAHN.
editorial assistant: BETTY MILLARD.
business manager: PAUL KAYE. field director: DORETTA TARMON.
promotion manager: BEATRICE SISKIND.
advertising manager: GERTRUDE CHASE.
circulation manager: CARMELA WEINSTEIN.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: LOUIS ARAGON • NATHAN AUSUBEL • LIONEL BERMAN • ALVAH BESSIE • BYSON CARTER W. E. B. DuBOIS • R. PALME DUTT • PHILIP EVERGOOD • SENDER GARLIN • BARBARA GILES • ROBERT GWATHMEY • ROCKWELL KENT ALFRED KREYMBORG • JOHN HOWARD LAWSON • MERIDEL LE SUEUR • VITO MARCANTONIO • PABLO NERUDA • ANTON REFREGIER • PAUL ROBESON • HOWARD SELSAM • ISIDOR SCHNEIDER • SAMUEL SILLEN • JAMES TURNBULL • CHARLES WHITE • DOXEY WILKERSON.

Fog Over the Airwaves Howard S. Benson . . .
Portside Patter Bill Richards . . . . . .
Wall Street Imperialism Checked by World Resistance William Z. Foster . . . . . .
Paul Langevin: 1872-1946 Jean-Richard Bloch . .
Lenin the Liberator John Stuart . . . . . .
Max and the Beanstalk: a short story Dan Davis .
Truman Feeds the Elephant: an editorial A. B. Magil
What Can You Own in Soviet Russia? Mikhail S. Lipetsker . . . . . .
Book Reviews: The Negro People in America, by Herbert Aptheker: Lloyd L. Brown; The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, by Ruth Benedict: David Arnold; Yes and No Stories, by George and Helen Papashvilly: Lucille Boehm; Labor and the Law, by Charles O. Gregory: George Squier . . . . .
Films Joseph Foster . . . . . .
Theater Isidor Schneider . . . . . .
Records S. Finkelstein . . . . . .
The Dance Joseph Foster . . . . . .

Two weeks' notice is requested for change of address. Notification sent NEW MASSES rather than the Post Office will give the best resu Vol. LXII, No. 4. Published weekly by THE NEW MASSES, INC., 104 E. Street, New York 3, N. Y. Copyright, 1947, THE NEW MASSES, I Reg. U. S. Patent Office. Washington Office, 802 F St. NW, Room Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered second-class matter June 23, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions $6. a year in U. S. and Possessions and Mexico; six months $3.50; three mon $2.00. Foreign, $7.00 a year; six months $4.00; three months $2 In Canada $6.50 a year, $4.00 for six months, U. S. money; single co in Canada 20 cents Canadian money. NEW MASSES welcomes the worl new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied stamped, addressed envelope.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



FOG OVER THE AIR WAVES

Scores of liberal radio commentators have been given the business end of the axe. What can be done to halt the shutdown on honest broadcasting?

By HOWARD S. BENSON

AMERICA's radio moguls are busier than ever these days. They are busy explaining, justifying and defending their broadcasting practices before the American people. And they are busy uttering anguished howls for more "freedom of the air" and less "government interference."

And as the volume and tempo of their cries for "freedom" increase, so do their efforts to banish real freedom of expression from the publicly-owned channel of communication whose operation rests in their hands.

The closing days of 1946 brought to a crashing climax the drama of reactionary repression which America's radio industry had been performing throughout the year. During the last ten days of December two of the most outspoken voices of progressive thought on the air were stilled. They were those of Dr. Frank Kingdon over WOR and Johannes Steel of WHN—both high-powered New York outlets covering a wide metropolitan listening area.

This brought to more than a score the number of progressive commentators cashiered during the year, while the voices of reaction, already well-entrenched and deafening, were augmented by the reappearance of such worthies as Upton Close, the American Actionist and NAM spokesman. As big business reaction tightened its hold on the administration and the national economy, the radio industry was quick to demonstrate that far from being the servant of the people, as it unceasingly contends, it is actually the subsidized mouthpiece of monopoly.

The commentators and newscasters of even mildly liberal hue remaining on the air today would rattle around in a telephone booth. Gone are such progressive broadcasters as Robert St. John, John Vandercook, Quentin Reynolds, Don Goddard, Hans Jacob, Orson Welles, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Lisa Sergio, Sidney Walton, and many more. Don Hollenbeck, who has been removed from a daily spot on NBC, now is heard for a few minutes once a week on CBS. Columbia's Tris Coffin, who used to do a weekly ten-minute broadcast and frequent special appearances, now scarcely ever is heard at all. ABC's Raymond Swing has been cut down from three broadcasts a week to one. Howard Smith, head of Columbia's European news staff and one of the ablest and most honest reporters on the air, is said to have been warned by his network last summer that his broadcasts were "too pro-Russian" and that he had better change his tune. (In justice to his courage and sense of decency be it added that he ignored the threat.) William L. Shirer, a mild and often befogged liberal, came within an ace of losing his sponsor, who renewed his contract only after an outcry went up from progressive radio reporters in the trade and general press. F. H. LaGuardia, because of his refusal to hew to the reactionary line, lost first his *Liberty* magazine sponsorship and then his ABC sustaining connection, and was taken up by Mutual (which also airs the ineffable Close) only because of his great money-making potentialities. William Gailmor, thrown off Station WJZ after a savage campaign by the Pegler platoon, now has a shaky toehold on WHN.

This by no means exhausts the list, but the story in its general outlines is familiar to every observant radio listener. As economic and political "normalcy" seek more and more to turn back the clock, commentators who refuse or even hesitate to accommodate themselves to the brave new world of reaction find sooner or later that there is no place for them on the American air. On the other hand, such proto-fascist loudspeakers as Henry J. Taylor, Fulton Lewis, Jr. and Upton Close, such fossilized reactionaries as H. V. Kaltenborn and Lowell Thomas, and such irresponsible blabbermouths as Walter Winchell and Gabriel Heatter are still doing business at the old

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stand while the sponsors' cash rolls in more fulsomely than ever.

THERE is, to be sure, no lack of ready excuses for the lopping off of liberal heads. Nobody is ever fired simply because the radio lords don't like him. Perish the thought. They are given the business end of the axe only because of some sudden and burning necessity to "reshuffle program schedules," or because of a "scarcity of available time," or because "a sponsor cannot be secured."

This last excuse, with its implication that the station or network is simply yearning to keep on the progressive commentator but cannot afford to do so because no commercial bankroll is in sight, merits some close examination. For it is a tacit admission that American radio, charged by act of Congress with operating "in the public interest, convenience and necessity," actually operates in the interest of only one thing: its own balance sheet. Nothing in law or in public policy decrees that these trustees of the airwaves which the people own must make profits each year exceeding those of the previous year. But if they ever heard of this, they forgot it long ago. And so it is that a broadcaster who points the path to labor-progressive action, a higher standard of living, observance of Constitutional freedoms, and world survival through peaceful negotiation, is tolerated on the air only if he can bring in the shekels. But a commentator who whips up the poisonous brews of race hatred, labor-baiting, reckless inflation and international discord is sure of a platform so long as he pleases the dispensers of big business advertising appropriations. And he always does.

Thus the fault lies much deeper than the mere whims or prejudices of station and network management as such. It goes to the core of a profit system, which has succeeded in annexing as its own instrument man's most powerful means of mass communication and enlightenment. With profits as the supreme goal of the stations and networks, they are as surely committed to the dissemination of anti-labor, anti-peace and anti-Soviet propaganda as are the newspapers, which must sing the NAM tune day in and day out or lose money. A perfect illustration of this is the case of Johannes Steel, who on being shown the exit at WHN said he had no quarrel with the station itself, which had kept him going for some months after sponsorship ceased. But despite (or because of) the fact that Steel's analyses of news events were among the most searching and his sources of information among the best in all radio, no new sponsor appeared. So a halt had to be called, and his news and interpretations denied to the hundreds of thousands who had followed them regularly. No money, no air time —let the public weal fall where it may.

THIS reaction-serving control over radio news and opinion is practiced by the lords of the air in other ways besides that of direct censorship. The "loaded" discussion or forum program is a favorite device, and it is often carried out with such subtle proficiency that even a practiced listener is oblivious to what is being handed him under the guise of "impartial discussion." Once the formula is understood, however, it is very simple to spot its workings. All of the networks and many of the larger independent stations conduct these "public forum" programs, usually on a sustaining basis, as one of their chief claims to "public service" broadcasting—a certain proportion of which must be shown when the time comes to apply for a license renewal before the Federal Communications Commission. How well these programs actually serve the public can be seen when we examined their composition. Inasmuch as two sides of a public question must ostensibly be represented, the characteristic procedure is to engage one or two speakers on the all-out reactionary side and one or two middle-of-the-roaders whose quarrel with the reactionaries is usually on superficial matters of detail. Thus, when these "debates" are on the subject of labor's rights, a vigorous and highly articulate debater on the side of management is sure to appear, but labor will be "represented" either by a bumbling old wheelhorse of AFL craft unionism or by a Social Democratic collaborationist such as Mark Starr or Broadus Mitchell of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. If, now and then, a Philip Murray or an R. J. Thomas is given a hearing, he is sure to be faced by a combine of two or three big business spokesmen and labor misleaders who

CIO News.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are abetted by the biased maneuverings of a so-called "impartial" chairman.

This gag is worked the same way no matter what subject is under discussion. A typical program was one broadcast last summer in Columbia's "In My Opinion" series. The topic was: "How Long Should the Allies Occupy Germany?" The two "debaters" were Frank Gannett, subsidizer of fascist crackpot organizations, and President George Shuster of Hunter College, a leading spokesman for forgiveness and kindness to Nazis.

It is in the field of international relations, in fact, that this radio "debate" humbug comes to its fullest flavor. Especially when the Soviet Union figures in the discussion (as it is bound to in almost every case) the American air becomes a ready platform for every professional Red-baiter, reactionary Russian emigre, Soviet renegade, broken-down royalist and international stumblebum that the ringmasters can dig up. These characters, preposterous enough even as detractors of genuine democracy or of real friendship with the USSR, are often trotted out as *proponents* of these causes! Thus Ely Culbertson, the eminent White Russian bridge expert and dilettante in world affairs, has often been represented as speaking for the interests of the Soviet people. Earl Browder, who belongs nowhere and represents nobody, comes forth as a spokesman for the American Communist movement. Ham Fish, the wild-eyed Red hunter; Lawrence Spivak, the fascist-tainted *American Mercury* editor; Louis Fischer, who loves not Russia less but hates the Soviet Union more; H. V. Kaltenborn, the gilt-edged Russophobe of commercial radio; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., the scholastic dream boy of the intellectual Soviet-haters—these and scores of kindred souls have filled the air with their confusion, obfuscation and lies under the guise of "public debate." All that is needed to become a radio "expert" on Soviet affairs is a set of vocal cords and a reputation for Soviet-baiting.

As to what can be done to combat the present crackdown against liberal commentators and the spreading fog of reaction on the air, the answer in general is already familiar to many more people than have been willing to bestir themselves to act on it. Radio, more than all other means of communication, is sensitive to public pressure. Stations, networks, sponsors and performers all depend on popular goodwill and audience acceptance. Individual protests, mass protests, organizational protests can get and have got results. More than once a single letter, forceful and articulate enough, has changed the course of a program series. True, at a time when bitter reaction feels the bit in its teeth and is galloping hell-bent for election, the protests must be stronger and more numerous than ever. But they can have their effect.

Such protests need not and should not be haphazard or indiscriminate. This is where the progressive people's organizations and trade unions come in; and they must do a thousand times better job than they have done in the past if the curtain of fog is not to envelop our air completely. It is not enough for a union local or a progressive group to pass a resolution now and then. Machinery should be established for monitoring news programs, noting down reactionary lies and distortions, and asking members by regular bulletin or newsletter to protest them by writing to stations, networks and above all to sponsors. The state of radio reporting and analysis should be an item on the agenda of every meeting; radio committees should render reports and protests should be sent in the name of the organization or union wherever the cause of peace or progress has been slandered. It matters not whether this entails the writing of one letter or a thousand letters each month. It has got to be done, for direct protest is the most powerful weapon in the hands of the people.

The fight for the expansion of frequency modulation (FM) broadcasting and against monopoly control of this new system is a focal point in the struggle for democracy on the air waves. The campaign for people's control of FM which has been started in several cities should be extended and unified into a national effort.

As to the protection of honest progressive voices still remaining on the air, everything should be done to forestall in advance any repressive measures against them. Such action has both its positive and its negative phases. On the positive side, letters of commendation should be sent to the broadcaster, his station and his sponsor, if any. On the defensive side, organizational committee chairmen should follow closely the trade press of the radio industry (such as *Variety* and *Radio Daily*) and act to marshal protests whenever any indication appears that a progressive commentator's job is becoming shaky. Spontaneous action of this kind had something to do with saving the job of William L. Shirer. On the other hand, the joint protest from the old National Citizens Political Action Committee and Independent Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, because they came too late, did nothing to save Johannes Steel and Frank Kingdon.

If the shutdown on honest radio news and commentary is not to become complete, that mistake must never be repeated.

portside patter

By BILL RICHARDS

The President's afternoon speech to Congress got a 20.4 Hooper rating. That represents the biggest audience ever to hear a soft soap opera.

●

Mrs. Truman has been holding classes in Spanish for the wives of Cabinet members. Pretty soon their husbands will be able to submit resignations in two languages.

●

Senator Bilbo says he will fight for his seat "until Hell freezes over." And he'll probably be there when it does.

●

Bilbo will continue to draw a salary despite his absence. This is the closest he's come to earning the money in many years.

●

The NAM advertises its new program as being "for the good of all." All NAM members, of course.

●

New York's football fix trial developed a distinct Broadway-Hollywood flavor. All the witnesses were invited to give their versions of The Last Time I Saw Paris.

●

There is a good chance that rent ceilings will be raised unless tenants start raising the roof first.

●

Darryl Zanuck hopes that "The Razor's Edge" will win the Academy Award. It probably won't even be a close shave.

●

Louis Budenz collapsed during a recent lecture tour. We thought those talks strained nothing but his imagination.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WALL STREET IMPERIALISM CHECKED BY WORLD RESISTANCE

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

THE masses of the American people are generous and democratic and they have a sense of solidarity with the war-devastated peoples. Consequently, when the war ended they undoubtedly expected that the United States, undamaged by the war, would use its vast economic power and political prestige in a democratic spirit to help repair the devastation of the war. They took seriously the Rooseveltian anti-fascist slogans under which the war was fought, and they looked for this country to fulfill its responsibilities by taking a leading part in the creation of a progressive, prosperous and democratic world.

But Wall Street big business had quite different ideas and plans. It saw a golden opportunity for huge profits in the ravaged condition of other countries, and it set out to take full advantage of this situation by utilizing America's great power to establish our imperialist control of the world. Hence, hardly had President Roosevelt died and the war been ended than these big business interests, using the Truman administration as their pliable tool, launched a blitzkrieg diplomatic offensive aimed at immediately making the United States, or more properly, its big trusts, the masters of the world. Weapons employed in this militant diplomatic offensive were atom bomb threats, economic pressure and the political use of loans and food reserves. Specific objectives of the drive were to halt the worldwide drift of the peoples to the left, to beat down the rising wave of democracy in Europe, to smother the fires of revolt in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and especially to intimidate the Soviet Union and reduce it to a second-class power. American big business strove to create an all-powerful Anglo-American alliance (with the US in full command) that would run the United Nations as Wall Street saw fit.

The Wall Street imperialists have made no little progress in their reactionary program. They have a "standardized arms" agreement with Great Britain, and they have constructed an Anglo-American bloc of capitalist states that usually controls the majority in the United Nations. They have held onto air and naval bases far and wide which enable American bombers and warships to dominate the airways and oceans of the world. They have made Japan into a puppet of the United States. They have kept Franco in power, preserved a rotten royalist regime in Greece, protected Nazi businessmen in Germany, and strengthened every reactionary party in Europe. Together with the Vatican and the opportunist Social-Democrats, they have made themselves objects of the fervent hopes of every fascist in the world.

Especially on the domestic scene, in the United States, the Wall Street imperialists have scored important victories. They have secured control of both Houses of Congress, bridled and saddled the Truman administration, defeated the miners in their national strike, launched an unparalleled orgy of profit-grabbing, plunged the United States into the deepest militarization it has ever known in peace time, and filled the country with such a dense fog of saber-rattling, Red-baiting and Soviet-hating as to confuse millions of our citizens on domestic and foreign questions.

Nevertheless, the drive of the American reactionaries for world control is far from having achieved the blitz success they had planned for it. This is because their imperialist campaign has met with such powerful resistance in various countries that it has been distinctly slowed down. It is too early to say yet that the world drive of American imperialism has been definitely defeated, but certainly its time schedule has been ruined and it is meeting with mounting difficulties on many fronts. The get-tough-with-Russia policy has proved a failure. The war-wracked postwar world is showing itself not to be the easy victim that Wall Street calculated on.

THE imperialists based great hopes upon the war-scare which they launched immediately after V-J Day. Brandishing the atom bomb, conducting military maneuvers in Canada and naval demonstrations in the Mediterranean, sending our bombers on spectacular world flights, adopting a gigantic peacetime military budget, filling the world with "screaming-eagle" speeches, they publicly threatened the USSR with an immediate "defensive" war. The whole purpose of this outrageous jingoistic campaign was to frighten the Soviet Union and to force it to knuckle under the demands of the Anglo-American delegates in the United Nations.

But, surprising the imperialists, the Russians sturdily stood their ground. It so developed that, if need be, they also could get tough. Not only that, but lots of Americans, as evidenced by Wallace's celebrated speech in Madison Square Garden, also did not like the get-tough-with-Russia policy and said so plainly. Finally, Stalin dramatically deflated the whole fantastic war-scare by calmly declaring there was no imminent danger of war. This left the war-mongers with an exploded balloon in their hands, plus a most inconvenient world-wide, Soviet-initiated demand for a radical reduction in armaments all around.

The imperialists have hardly fared any better with their aggressive loan policy than with their threats of war. Their original idea was that with their monopoly of financial credits they could compel the rest of the world to do their bidding. Whoever would not sign on the dotted line for the political and economic conditions Wall Street saw fit to impose would get no funds with which to rebuild their shattered economies. But this imperialist weapon also was not as effective as planned.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The peoples of the world are not peddling off their birthright for Wall Street's mess of pottage.

Congress voted the British $4,000,000,000 loan in the shamelessly-expressed hope that it would be the means of checking the spread of democracy, the nationalization of industry and the growth of Communist Parties and socialism in Europe. It was an unvarnished investment in Wall Street's "free enterprise." But obviously the loan has failed in its political purpose. Its hard terms have even considerably antagonized large sections of the British people, and it has distinctly not defeated European democracy and socialism. The billion-dollar loan to France, brazenly solicited by Leon Blum as a weapon against spreading Communist sentiment in France, also did not achieve its purpose, as has been demonstrated by the powerful growth of the French Communist Party. Nor did the outright refusals and reductions in size of American loans to the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and other countires of Central and Eastern Europe succeed in forcing these countries to kowtow politically to the would-be world conquerors in Wall Street. This is not to say, of course, that American loans are not a potent weapon; but it does mean that these loans are not at all as decisive politically as the capitalists had hoped.

In a starving world food, of course, can also be a powerful political weapon. The Wall Street imperialists figured that inasmuch as the United States controlled the world's greatest food reserves they could, with the schemes of such famine-juggling experts as Herbert Hoover, dictate economic and political terms to the war-devastated peoples. Consequently, wide discrimination was made in the distribution of food by the American-controlled UNRRA. Naturally, this discrimination was directed against the militantly democratic peoples. The worst example was in the Communist-controlled areas of China. Although these regions contain some forty percent of the Chinese people, they have received only 2½ percent of the UNRRA supplies sent to China. Despite such discrimination, however, the bulk of the hungry nations of the world have refused to trade their liberties for food.

The world today does not present a picture that brings joy to the hearts of the Wall Street millionaires, who had planned to make themselves quickly into that world's masters. While in the United Nations the Anglo-American bloc is usually able to command a majority, it can by no means enforce its wishes at will. The smaller countries, the colonial lands and especially the Soviet Union display a most disconcerting spirit of independence. Indeed, in the matter of Spain and of the Indians in South Africa, the American and British delegates to the United Nations found themselves voting in a minority. They even raised dismal complaints that the Soviet Union, which was to have been ruthlessly put in its place as a second-class power by an all-controlling Anglo-American bloc, now finds itself, instead, with greatly strengthened prestige. It stands out as the main leader of the world's democratic and oppressed peoples.

The status of the Anglo-American bloc itself is also by no means satisfactory to the Wall Street imperialists. Many of them had hoped for the immediate realization of an aggressive anti-Soviet military alliance of Great Britain and the United States, carrying along most other capitalist countires, on the model proposed by Winston Churchill. Or, at least, they wanted a political arrangement whereby Great Britain would tamely go along as a "junior partner" of the United States and do the bidding of Wall Street.

But, certainly, as yet, neither of

Fernando Castro Pacheco.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these things has happened. The British people, save for the traitorous big capitalists and their Social-Democratic lackeys, evidently do not relish the prospect of becoming a satellite and catspaw of the United States, while Wall Street slowly picks the Empire to pieces. Large numbers of British, including a big section of the trade unions and the Labor Party, look with increasing disfavor upon Foreign Secretary Bevin's reactionary pro-American, anti-Russian policy and are bringing heavy pressure against it. They do not want another war. What they do want is to develop more cooperative relations with the USSR. Moreover, British businessmen, ignoring American demands for international "free enterprise," are moving energetically to protect Empire markets against vigorous American competition. These Anglo-American contradictions and antagonisms naturally reduce the effectiveness of the two-power bloc as a means for imperialist world control.

The situation in Central and Eastern Europe is also highly unsatisfactory to the Wall Street imperialists. For all their economic and political pressure, they have been unable to prevent the growth of democracy in these vital areas. Vigorous Communist Parties exist in all the countries, and the peoples everywhere are determined to set up far more democratic regimes than existed before the war. Several of the countries are obviously marching on to socialism.

A major objective of Anglo-American diplomacy in Eastern Europe was to re-erect a ring of hostile, reactionary states along the western borders of the USSR, a repetition of the infamous *cordon sanitaire* of pre-war times. The type of state the imperialists had in mind for this purpose is illustrated by the ultra-reactionary regime they are maintaining in Greece with their money and bayonets. And the long fight they made to impose the semi-fascist "London Government" on the Polish people was a sample of their determined struggle generally to prevent the growth of democracy in Eastern Europe. The failure to reestablish the *cordon sanitaire* was a real defeat for imperialism in general. The states on the borders of the USSR, consequently, instead of being a stronghold of fascism as they were before the war, are now, from the Baltic to the Black Sea and the Adriatic, a major fortress of world democracy and socialism. Similar attempts to organize an anti-Soviet bloc of Western European states have also failed.

But it is when one turns to the colonial and semi-colonial lands that there are to be found conditions that strike fear into the hearts of the imperialists. The oppressed peoples of the Near, Middle and Far East are on the march to national liberation. India, China, Indo-China, Indonesia, Burma, Korea, Egypt, Palestine, Syria—are all surging with vigorous independence movements. The more than a billion people of these vast areas are gradually breaking the chains of imperialist-capitalist slavery, and the British, French, Dutch, Belgian and American imperialists are rather frantically trying to "save the pieces."

American policy in China especially has also been anything but successful. While with the help of US soldiers and marines and with $4,000,000,000 worth of munitions and food it has succeeded in buttressing the rotten Chiang Kai-shek government and reducing it to the status of American puppet state, it has by no means achieved its major objective of defeating the vast Yenan people's liberation movement. Far from it. Indeed, American bourgeois correspondents are now saying that the Chinese Communists can fight the American-made civil war on an ascending scale for at least four years and may well win it in the end.

In Latin America Wall Street imperialist policy is also encountering unexpected difficulties. The peoples south of the Rio Grande by no means form the docile bloc of votes in the United Nations calculated on by the Wall Street manipulators. Besides, the Latin American peoples are developing real resistance to two other of Wall Street's most cherished imperialistic devices: the so-called Clayton Latin-American Economic Charter of Chapultepec (which would put weak Latin American industry at the mercy of powerful United States industry), and the Truman plan of standardizing all American and Latin American arms and military training (which would throw the Latin American countries under the military domination of the United States). Like other colonial and semi-colonial nations, the peoples of Latin America are sharply feeling the world-wide upsurge of democracy following the victorious anti-Hitler war. And the Wall Street imperialists are dismayed at their growing spirit of independence.

OBVIOUSLY, Wall Street imperialism has not achieved the blitzkrieg world victory that it counted upon winning in the immediate postwar period. It has not halted the world trend to the left, and its central slogan of "free enterprise" is discredited on a world scale. Its drive for American world control has been definitely slowed down by the resistance of the democratic peoples who, after defeating the Hitler slavers, refuse to put on the yoke of Wall Street. Despite the aggressive policies of Anglo-American imperialism there has even been considerable progress made in the United Nations toward the establishment of a compromise peace.

But it would be unwise to conclude from all this that the imperialist danger, with its dread implications of economic chaos, fascism and war, has passed. On the contrary, it is still full of malignancy. The fact remains that the United States government is now controlled by Republican tory reactionaries of the Hoover-Dewey-Vandenberg stripe, while the fascist-like McCormicks, Hearsts, Pattersons and Brickers play a greatly increased role. These elements and their Southern poll-tax friends definitely have the imperialist perspective of making the Wall Street multi-millionaires the dictators of the world. And they are counting on still further increasing their political power by capturing the presidency in 1948. To further their imperialist ambitions they have at their disposal by far the biggest navy and air force in the world, the greatest supplies of available capital and food, and the largest industrial production. These imperialists consider an anti-Soviet war inevitable and they are relentlessly preparing to provoke and to wage it. Nor will this country's foreign policy cease to constitute the major danger to world peace until it is reshaped by the democratic masses of the United States.

The American people, especially the labor movement, must much more clearly learn the basic fact that the present foreign policy of our government is not a national policy. It is not a policy conceived in the interests of the whole American people; on the contrary, it is one primarily designed to advance the profits and power of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Wall Street magnates. Wall Street's imperialism is highly detrimental to the most vital interests of the American people. The toiling masses of this country understand that the great capitalists are thoroughly greedy in their domestic policies, and they are waging increasing struggles against these exploiters. Nevertheless they do not yet sufficiently grasp the facts that these same capitalists are also dictating American foreign policy and that they are just as profit-greedy in their foreign policies as they are in domestic policies. Many workers are still deceived by hypocritical talk about politics ending at our shorelines.

Whether the world will develop a livable peace or whether it will head toward a third world war depends in decisive measure upon the anti-imperialist understanding and action of the American people. If the Wall Street multi-millionaires are allowed to continue writing and enforcing our foreign and domestic policies, as they are now doing to an increasing degree, then certainly the world will face growing dangers of fascism and a new world war. But if the democratic American people elect a progressive Congress and President in 1948, it will become possible to work out a democratic regime in this country and a durable world peace.

The great menace to world peace and democracy now lies in the activities of the Wall Street trusts and multi-millionaires. Hence the tremendous importance of defeating them and their Republican-Democratic political stooges during the legislative battles of the present Congress and especially in the elections of 1948. The American people are basically opposed to the trusts and to aggressive imperialism, and they will respond to a strong democratic, anti-imperialist leadership. But if the Wall Street imperialists are to be defeated at home and abroad, the organized labor movement especially must show the highest political understanding and united action of its entire history. The trade unions must bridge over their internal quarrels and jointly take up the fight against imperialist foreign policies and against reactionary legislation in the Eightieth Congress. They must spare no efforts in making all preparations to administer a real defeat to reaction in next year's elections. The outcome of our developing political struggle is of decisive world importance.

PAUL LANGEVIN: 1872-1946

In this illustrious physicist France honored the unity between scientist and the common people.

By JEAN-RICHARD BLOCH

Paris (by mail).

PAUL LANGEVIN is dead, and the French government gave him a national funeral. On a dark December day, in biting cold weather, tens of thousands followed his bier to the cemetery. In this procession workers rubbed shoulders with scholars, shopgirls marched by the side of professors, trade-unionists with their banners followed academicians.

How did this happen? The work of Paul Langevin was not of a kind that directly interests, arouses and moves the masses, as had been the case with the discoveries of a Pasteur. The latter revolutionized medicine, banishing some of the diseases which had ravaged humanity and opening new avenues of hope to therapy. But the "days and works" of Paul Langevin were spent in the silence of the laboratory and study. His achievements were in the least accessible fields of higher mathematics and physics. His thought, which roamed the realm of the supersonic, was likewise at home in that of the ultra-spatial and ultra-temporal. As one commentator correctly pointed out: "Magnetism, para-magnetism, dia-magnetism, and the introduction of restricted relativity and Einsteinian relativity to France—all that was the work of this physicist-mathematician. Of him we may say that, with Albert Einstein, he is the man who has brought analytical intelligence to its highest present point.

But what is there in all this capable of arousing the masses? Suppose we consider some of the industrial and military applications of Langevin's inventions, such as the detection of under-water obstacles and objects by a supersonic projector with a piezo-electric quartz base—an invention which in 1918 hastened the destruction of Kaiser Wilhelm's submarine fleet and assured victory for the Allies. Yet even that invention, long kept secret and then slowly revealed to the public at large, has none of the dramatic and sensational qualities to be found in the works of a Leverrier or a Lister. Only an educated elite was in a position to understand the mechanism of that projector.

So I repeat my original question. How can one explain the scene that occurred in the French National Assembly on Dec. 19, 1946, when the six hundred deputies and all the spectators in the visitors' gallery rose in a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

body to listen in reverent silence to the announcement of Langevin's death and the eulogy of the deceased? How explain that burial procession in which, despite the rigorous cold, hundreds of people's delegations from the provinces marched and swelled the throng that blocked traffic in Paris for several hours?

WHAT the French people honored in this dead man was not the modern magician, the creator of complicated mathematical formulas, whom the specialists praise in terms as mysterious as they are incomprehensible. The French people were told that he was a great scientist and accepted him as such. But in this illustrious physicist, the French nation honored the unity between scientist and the common people. More even than this unity: the assertion that they are inseparable and can only be thought of as inseparable.

Langevin himself has told how at seventeen, during the crisis provoked by General Boulanger, he felt for the first time a violently Republican heart beat within him. Georges Cogniot, a Communist deputy of Paris and himself an intellectual of stature, told in his speech at the funeral ceremony how Paul Langevin, just graduated from the *Ecole Normale Superieure*, threw himself into the fight for Dreyfus—that is, the fight for justice and liberty, copingstones of democracy. Before 1914, Langevin was one of the intellectuals one saw at meetings where Jean Jaures spoke.

After World War I, this indefatigable worker, at the very moment he was laboring on his greatest discoveries, presided at meetings in favor of the French sailors of the Black Sea Fleet and in favor of France's resumption of diplomatic relations with the young Soviet Republic. Later he was together with Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse in the world movement against war and fascism; and he was at the side of Republican Spain, criminally assaulted by the fascists. He spoke out against the Munich surrender. And when the terrible scourge of 1940 came, one of the first to be imprisoned was Paul Langevin.

Sixty-seven years old and ill, he was thrown into a cell of that notorious building called by some grim irony *Le Sante* [Health] Prison. There the Nazi Colonel Boehmelburg said to him: "You are a man as dangerous to us as the eighteenth century Encyclopedists were to the *ancien regime*." An involuntary act of homage from the enemy, which places Langevin on his true historic level!

After imprisonment came solitary confinement. Then in 1944, in midwinter, he escaped across the snow-capped Jura Mountains. There for the first time the heart of this seventy-year-old "failed." Already he had endured the martyrdom and execution of the young scientist, Jacques Solomon, who was one of his sons-in-law, and the deportation of one of his daughters to the camps of slow death in Germany. Already he had witnessed mass executions of French intellectuals at the hands of the Nazi enemy. These repeated trials finally succeeded in wearing down his strong, rugged and healthy constitution.

Returning to France on the heels of the armies of liberation, those uniformed and those without uniforms, those inside as well as those outside France, he immediately took charge again of the famous Higher School of Physics and Chemistry of the City of Paris. He went back to his mathematical calculations and his laboratory researches. He accepted the chairmanship of a committee set up by the Provisional Government to reorganize public education in the light of the terrific experiences from which France had just emerged. Throwing himself into his work, he used up the last remains of his health. A relatively minor surgical operation produced, in his terribly run-down body, a shock from which he could not recover.

And several hours later, it was the end.

LANGEVIN, a student of the Curies and later their intimate friend and collaborator, was himself the teacher of Frederic Joliot who, marrying Irene Curie, joined her name with his and thus continued the glorious Curie tradition. Thus the standard was handed down from generation to generation in this group of closely-linked scientists. Now one of the shining lights of atomic physics, Frederic Joliot-Curie has always called himself the disciple of Langevin and shown deep affection for him. The speech he gave at the burial of his teacher will rank among the finest in France's scientific literature.

But should one really say "scientific"? Joliot-Curie, linked with the French masses in an ardent Communist political faith, reminded his listeners that Paul Langevin, the Communist scientist, did not consider science merely a brilliant sport of the mind, but a "powerful means of educating and liberating man, with a view to creating more justice and kindness. Paul Langevin embodied two missions: that of the great scientist and that of the great citizen. He sought to enrich our knowledge of the world and at the same time to create a world in which justice prevails. One finds in his work the imprint of a universal mind as well as extraordinary clarity and accuracy of judgment. It was these high qualities that enabled him to analyze social problems so profoundly and to adopt toward them the attitude we admire. Langevin did not want to be one of an elite of scientists divorced from practical events. It was as a member of the community of workers that he concerned himself with social problems."

Here is the answer to the question we posed at the beginning of this article. It explains why one could see marching behind his coffin academicians and trade-unionists, the greatest living artists and poets together with peasant delegations.

I had the sad privilege of being the last visitor he ever had, several hours before his death. I owe this honor to an old and deep friendship between us. When, awakening from an artificially induced sleep, he learned of my presence in the house, he insisted upon seeing me. "I'm fond of you . . . I'm fond of you!" he murmured as he seized my hand. How haggard my friend was! That little effort was enough to tire him. His eyes closed again, but his hand firmly grasped mine. And halting words came from his parched lips.

What were those words? The very same that had formed the web of his life and works: "Kindness," he murmured, "Kindness! . . . We need . . . kindness. And justice! . . . There is not . . . enough justice . . . in the world!" Then the words stuck in his throat. But even as he fumbled for expression, they betrayed his constant concern: "Yes! . . . And kindness . . . We need . . . justice . . . justice . . . equal to kindness. . . ."

Then in a feeble voice he called to his wife: "Mother!"

Those were the last words I heard from his mouth. Yet he still kept my hand in his, pressing it warmly.

"For kindness in justice"—has there ever been a nobler, worthier testament of a great man?

Translated by John Rossi.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LENIN THE LIBERATOR

Ringing throughout his work is the certainty of victory. "We are living," he said, "in happy times when the prophecy of the great Socialists is beginning to be realized."

By JOHN STUART

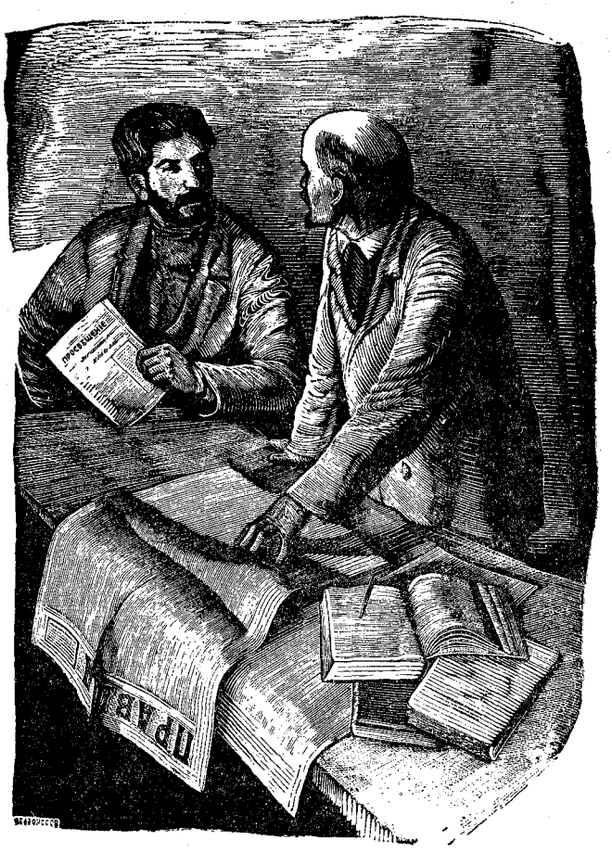
He died at 6:50 during the frost-laden night of Jan. 21, 1924. Two days before the hemorrhage that drowned his consciousness forever his wife sat by his bed reading to him Jack London's story, *Love of Life*. "In a wilderness of ice, where no human being had set foot, a sick man, dying of hunger, is making for the harbor of a big river. His strength is giving out, he cannot walk but keeps slipping, and beside him there slides a wolf—also dying of hunger. There is a fight between them: the man wins. Half dead, half demented, he reaches his goal." That tale greatly pleased Lenin.

"The man wins." There is perhaps no more terse summary of Lenin's faith or the immensity of his achievement. In his own life he embodied the cause of working men, relentlessly pressing for a universal freedom in which men are no longer their own enemies, victims of the unknown or the creatures of chance. He knew what makes for strength in a class and the components of power to make that class supreme. Separating the chaff from the humanist tradition he took the wheat and made out of it a fresh loaf on which a whole new society could feed. He was the scientist and the transformer of dreams into reality. Few before him had the tenacity to make an indivisible sum of the word and the deed. "His heroism," wrote Gorky, "is surrounded by no glittering halo. . . . He was intrepid by nature, but this was not the mercenary daring of the gambler; in Lenin it was the manifestation of that unusual moral courage which could only belong to a man with an unshakeable belief in his calling, to a man with a profound and complete perception of his connection with the world."

His calling was that of professional revolutionary. That calling has been caricatured for Americans—at least most Americans—into monstrous forms. Every effort of warped imaginations has been thrust against it. Dictionaries have been combed for words to malign it and to ostracize it from the community of "respectable" men. Yet respectable men have been able to follow their own calling because professional revolutionaries helped them attain a greater measure of freedom than their predecessors knew. The first Christians were the professional revolutionaries of their era when they advanced their doctrine of brotherhood against the slavekeepers of a now-forgotten world. And our own American Revolution, which Lenin recorded as "one of those great, really emancipatory, really revolutionary wars," might never have unfolded so quickly if it were not for the band of professional revolutionaries who sparked and led the struggle against the English brigands.

There is no higher calling than that of professional revolutionary. They are the men who engineer history by recognizing its necessities. To Lenin the calling came early. It brought him years of exile and wandering over the face of Europe. It crushed lesser men but it steeled him, freshened his senses, piled conviction on conviction, gave him the intellectual stamina to withstand both the enemies of his class and those misleaders who would divert it from its compelling mission. When the clouds of despair befogged the eyes of others Lenin remained optimistic, absolutely confident.

Ringing throughout his work is the certainty of victory. "We are living," he said, "in happy times, when the prophecy of the great Socialists is beginning to be realized." Echoing Marx's declaration at the time the Paris Commune was shattered, Lenin wrote, when the frenzy in the West to exterminate the Russian Revolution was at its highest, that: "Communism 'springs up' from positively all sides of



Lenin and Stalin working in the office of Pravda in 1917. Woodcut by P. N. Staronosov.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

social life. Its shoots are to be seen literally everywhere; the 'contagion' (to use the favorite metaphor of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois police, the one that pleases them most) has very thoroughly permeated its organism and completely impregnated it. If one of the outlets is 'stopped up' with special care, the 'contagion' will find another, sometimes a very unexpected one. Life will assert itself. . . . Communists should know that at all events the future belongs to them; therefore, we can, and must, combine the most intense passion in the great revolutionary struggle with the coolest and most sober estimation of the mad ravings of the bourgeoisie. . . . In all cases and in all countries communism is becoming steeled and is growing; its roots are so deep that persecution does not weaken, does not debilitate it; rather does it strengthen it." (*Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 144.)

"THE man wins" and "Life will assert itself." This positive investment in life and man produced in Lenin an utter selflessness and a solicitude for others which endeared him to them. In exile in Siberia he taught a village shopkeeper the elements of bookkeeping. In St. Petersburg, when he was organizing groups of workers and teaching them, he got as much from them as they from him. He showered them with questions, pried from them their knowledge of working conditions in the factories, drew from them the story of their miserable lives in the barracks behind the glittering public buildings. They sweated when they gave him their answers, for the questions were endless. But their answers were transformed into powerful leaflets and pamphlets which penetrated the workers' minds. He let the facts pound them into a greater sense of what they must do. He led them to conclusions which the facts dictated. And he wrote at the close of one of his short articles which Krupskaya, his close friend and later his wife, distributed at the factory gates: "Workers, you see how deadly afraid our Ministers are of knowledge coming to the working people. Show everyone that no force can deprive the workers of their consciousness. Without knowledge the workers are defenseless; with knowledge they are a force." (Krupskaya's *Memories of Lenin*, p. 191.)

With his books and his longer work there is the same care and concentration. He was a most scrupulous notetaker and his works on agriculture, on imperialism, on the development of capitalism in Russia show an accumulation of facts and statistics reminiscent of Marx. All this was critically analyzed to reach into the process of the social reality. Scientific strictness demanded a painstaking accumulation of data which makes all his work models of scholarship. Added to this scholarship is an abundance of literary knowledge and reference from the best Russian and European writers.

Intermingled with all his gigantic labors were the hours of fun. He loved singing. More than once his comrades complained that his voice was not too respectful of the rules of harmony. He laughed so that his whole body shook, sometimes until tears came. The old Italian fisherman with whom he spent time in Capri said of him, "Only an honest man could laugh like that." There were hours of chess and long walks with Krupskaya in the bristling Siberian spring air when they were consumed by the great rush of nature coming back into splendor. He was passionately interested in hunting. When he lived in Moscow years later a fox-hunt was organized. Lenin was keenly interested in it. "Very skillfully thought out," Krupskaya remembers him saying. She continues, "We placed the hunters in such a way that the fox ran straight at Vladimir Ilyich. He grasped his gun and the fox, after standing and looking at him for a moment, turned and made off into the wood. 'Why on earth didn't you fire?' came our perplexed inquiry. 'Well, he was so beautiful, you know,' said Vladimir Ilyich."

LENIN filled the world's exploited with the hope of liberation. But before his name became synonymous with liberation he spent the greatest part of his fifty-four years —certainly from the time he was twenty—in preparation for what was the climactic event of the Russian Revolution. When it burst upon him and the world, not too many knew that his ideological and organizational struggles were to provide its design.

His was an endless battle for the purity of Marxist science against the reformism and opportunism that had invaded Social-Democracy. To many Americans this struggle may seem remote—a tempest in a teapot. Yet what Lenin was doing was what any scientist worth his mettle would do if so-called physicists ventured to replace Newton's discoveries of the way gravity works by explanations worthy only of the practitioners of witchcraft. Until Marxist science was restored to its fullest there could be no successful movement of the people toward emancipation. It was Lenin who smashed the conception of revolution for Russia as an event to be accomplished by the bourgeoisie while the working class performed the function of handmaiden. He fought for a policy of working-class leadership which in alliance with the peasantry would conquer power. Linked to this fundamental idea was his conception of a party undiluted and uncontaminated by alien elements, with a program and tactics translated into life by militant leadership tied closely to the masses. Lenin's conception laid the foundation for what later became the Communist Party. Stalin continued Lenin's concept of party, adding to that heritage what experience and the building of socialist life demanded.

This was only part of Lenin's work. Fidelity to Marxist principles brought him into collision with a host of theories and theoreticians, all claiming the sanction of Marxism. From the vantage point of the present Lenin's clash with the revisionists of Marxism seems clear, although recent events prove that not all for which Lenin fought left its mark among some who pretended to follow him years later. His fight against Bernstein and Kautsky is rich with meaning, and no one can think that he fully appreciates Lenin unless he retraces the drama of the struggle he waged against the idea that the contradiction between the interests of the two dominant classes was becoming less sharp; or that socialism was achievable through the beneficence of reformers or the bourgeoisie itself.

The betrayers of Marxism found Lenin merciless. It meant a rupture of friendships with people to whom he was attached. He spent days explaining to them where and why they were wrong, but if it was to no avail he did the painful but necessary thing—stopped his collaboration with them. Thus he broke with Plekhanov, the acknowledged leader of the Russian socialists at the turn of the century. And thus he broke with others, showering them with his scorn for lapsing into mysticism after the tragic defeat of the 1905 Revolution. To combat them he wrote what was in time acknowledged as a classic work in philosophy, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. In this volume, written while he was deep in the swirl of the tasks of political leadership, he brought dialectical materialism to bear on the new developments in science. He proved once again the dead end to which the idealist outlook led. J. B. Crowther, the British

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

science historian, has referred to Lenin's works on the philosophy of science as "perhaps the most remarkable essays on science ever written by a statesman of the highest order of genius." They are indeed that, for in them is proved once again, as Marx and Engels proved before Lenin, that the scientific outlook can only thrive in the soil of materialism. Without such soil the universe and reality hang somewhere between the Land of Nod and the quagmire of clerical illusion.

WHILE Lenin was the tireless defender of Marxist principles he also contributed to their development. He did not parrot the great socialists who came before him, draining principles of their meaning by aimless quotation or far-fetched parallel. He tested his Marxism with experience, fulfilling the truly creative function of applying Marxism not only to interpret the world but to overhaul, to change it. He saw life in its many-sidedness, its continuous motion. And he could not have solved the problems which life set for him and the working class unless he first laid bare the conflicts and forces that comprise life.

When Lenin came to examine the stage of capitalism that followed after the death of Marx (an examination made imperative by the pall of reformism among the Social Democrats and their capitulation to the imperialistic governments of World War I) he discovered changes—changes in their embryonic phase when Marx and Engels wrote—which convinced him that capitalism was in decline, dying in fact. Instead of the contradictions among the capitalist powers disappearing, as Kautsky insisted, they were reaching new peaks. Lenin saw monopoly as the modern form of capitalism with its smooth development of the past finished. Its extremely uneven development made for wars for redivision of the world. And in his *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin raised the heavy curtain that had hidden this phenomenon. His description of a whole new epoch has been confirmed a thousand times over by the passage of time. This work is an index to the boldness of his thought and a token of his willingness to think at a time when so many of his comrades in Europe had stuffed their ears and shut their eyes.

This one book, if he had never written any other word, would have established him as a giant of social thought, a master of political economy. For in it is condensed the essence of our time, the analysis of the forces that compel us into motion. It is the broad beam of light that illuminates the thing and tells us what it must become—*socialism*. It has been a source of Soviet ideological strength in withstanding the pressures and the aggressions of imperialism. For American workers and progressives it could become an equal source of strength, giving them that basic knowledge to destroy many illusions about the American economy, its policy at home and abroad. It answers in principle why such a technological development as the splitting of the atom, with all that it can mean to enrich human life, is instead being used for war preparation. It answers the question why this epoch is revolutionary in character, why old political forms are collapsing. It explains the upsurge in the colonial world. Like Lenin's *State and Revolution*, *Imperialism* has molded the thinking of millions and shaped their action. Such is the fruit of a magnificent intellect solidly rooted in the principles of Marxism.

Inseparable from Lenin's thinking was the pivotal question of the leadership of every progressive movement by the working class. His whole strategy lay in the creation of alliances between labor and its natural allies. He rejected out of hand the Trotzkyite argument that the peasantry as a whole was reactionary and the Populist belief that the peasantry alone was revolutionary. Instead he linked the peasants and workers together under the leadership of the latter. Not only did the success of the Revolution depend upon it, but socialist construction as well.

As a rebuff to those who were practicing a "go-it-alone" policy in 1918 he wrote: "The middle peasant is not our enemy. He vacillated, is vacillating and will continue to vacillate. The task of influencing the vacillators is not identical with the task of overthrowing the exploiter and defeating the active enemy. The task at the present moment is to learn to come to an agreement with the middle peasant, while not for a moment renouncing the struggle against the kulak and at the same time firmly relying solely on the poor peasant. . . . This applies equally to the handicraftsman, the artisan, and the worker whose conditions are most petty-bourgeois or who has most preserved petty-bourgeois views, and to many office workers and army officers, and—in particular—to the intellectuals generally. . . . The slogan of the moment here is not to fight these sections, but to win them over, to know how to influence them, to convince the waverers, to make use of the neutrals, and, by mass proletarian influence, to educate those who were lagging behind. . . ." (*Collected Works*, Vol. XXIII, p. 311.)

The principle of class alliances has the greatest validity at present for every country, especially the United States. It is a principle applicable, in internal and external affairs, throughout the whole epoch of imperialism. No struggle against monopoly can be waged successfully without a labor-democratic coalition. The alternative course would place the heads of our people on the executioner's block and allow reaction to advance between the large spaces of a splintered, divided country. And "the whole point," wrote Lenin, "lies in *knowing how* to apply these tactics in such a way as to *raise* and not lower the *general* level of proletarian class consciousness, revolutionary spirit, and ability to fight and to conquer." (*Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 116.)

WHEN he died the earth shook with the sobbing of millions and was wet with their tears. From the Finland Station to the last days in the town of Gorki, he designed the socialist house where man could live as man. But if death stole him, the heritage remains: his fierce and knowing words which like a thousand torches burned and scorched the oppressors; his utter confidence in his class; his belief in science. The heritage is in that great tradition which men made as they rose ever higher from servitude to greater freedom. He gave a dream steel and concrete and the livingness of reality. The man is etched deep in our hearts and as long as there are hearts he will be etched in them.

The only way to appreciate the depth and stature of Lenin's life and work is to read him and to study the books that have been written by other Marxists about him. International Publishers issue both his *Collected* and *Selected Works* which contain a great deal of Lenin's writings, although not all of them. International also publishes some of Lenin's writings in booklet form. Indispensable in understanding Lenin are Stalin's two volumes, *Leninism*. Among the best biographies, both long and short, are N. K. Krupskaya's *Memories of Lenin; V. I. Lenin, A Brief Sketch of His Life and Activities*, prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute; *The Life and Teachings of Lenin*, by R. Palme Dutt; *Lenin*, by Ralph Fox; *Reminiscences of Lenin*, by Clara Zetkin; *Days With Lenin*, by Maxim Gorky.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MAX AND THE BEANSTALK

Everything can change. Factories can become gardens and even old men can look at life with new eyes. That's the way it is—boss or no boss.

A Short Story by DAN DAVIS

Illustrated by Herbert Kruckman.

MAYBE because he was old and afraid he might lose his job, Max didn't talk. Maybe, also, when you get to Max's years of pressing dresses, talk is just something that adds to the noise of the sewing machines. Even if you're a young person, the racket, like a thousand dentists' drills in your head all day, wouldn't make you feel much like talking, either.

But you'd have to.

In a clothing shop talking is the only way you can keep from becoming a machine, too. Worse, if you don't say something once in a while you can go nuts—but good. And sometimes the way you have to yell so somebody can hear what you're saying, you think you are nuts.

Then the forelady tells you to shut up. So you shut up—for a while. She can call in the boss, and it's not in the union agreement where you can talk. At least, the shop chairman couldn't defend you then. But you talk, anyhow.

Even when you get home, and in bed—finally—the only thing that stops the machines and lets you fall asleep is remembering what you talked about. Like who loved and murdered who on the front page along with the high cost of butter you couldn't buy.

Still, Max didn't talk. Not about love, or murder, or butter, or just plain anything. In fact, except for the few times he mumbled "Good morning"—and then only if you said it first right in front of him—he never spoke at all. He just worked and worked, like he was alone in the shop; his fingers were always in front of the hot iron, smoothing out the parts where the iron was going and spreading the seams.

How he pushed the iron at all was a question. He was small and thin like a needle, with a double grey thread running through to make arms and legs, and a big grey knot on the top for a head. When he bent over the pressing board he looked even smaller, the way he followed his fingers and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the iron with his nose. It was really a wonder he didn't get blisters on the end of it. Especially without ever looking up to say something, or joke, or kid around.

LIKE when the whole factory kidded one of the operators who brought in a few pounds of lima beans that she got cheap on the East Side during lunch hour. We joked about her shopping for a bargain in beans.

Why? Maybe because the joke was on us. With lima beans so cheap we stood on line for meat. So the operator got sore, grabbed a bunch of beans, and threw them around at everybody, saying, "Plant it, maybe you'll be needing beans by winter!"

Mary, the finisher, hollered, "Sure!" and ran into the ladies' room, coming back with a glass of water.

"See, here comes a whole bushel of beans," she said, and dropped a bean in the glass, setting it down on the windowsill near Max.

"Watch it grow," she laughed. We all laughed. We laughed at the idea of beans growing in a factory.

But in no time at all, just as though it was the next day, (closer to the point it was a couple of weeks) the glass was full of roots with green stuff looking over the top.

From then on everybody began to watch it. And we began to watch Max, too. More than before. Only now we kept an eye on him because he let the iron go by itself, while his nose pointed at the plant. Once we saw him holding the iron in the air, and standing up straight facing the window. When he noticed us watching him, he let the iron down fast and, with his nose closer then ever, started pressing again. All day he didn't stop.

But the lima bean didn't stop either. It spread out over the glass and onto the windowsill. It became a part of the shop—a new part. In the morning when we came in we reached for that window first so the plant could have some fresh air. Abe, the shop chairman, brought a big flower pot and a bag of dirt. He said he had plenty of manure in the bag, too. Where he got manure in a big city like ours we didn't ask, as long as he packed it around the plant himself.

The bean stalk got bigger and bigger. Like magic it changed the place. If you stood near it you could almost think you were in the country on a farm instead of in a shop. The curling green strings and leaves even made you forget the noise of the machines.

Everybody wanted to take care of it. We carefully wiped the shop dust off each leaf. We felt sad when it was a cloudy day and no sun came through the window. Mary and Abe even tried to get in ahead of each other in the morning to water it.

And one morning they both got in together—a full fifteen minutes before punching time. They found Max watering the plant. It was the first time they saw him smile. He said, "Good morning!" right out loud.

Naturally, after the forelady turned on the power for the machines that morning, all we talked about was Max.

He was pressing different. He was standing up straighter. His nose was not pasted to the iron, and he didn't look so small or so old. True, he didn't say anything, but he acted like any minute he might. Then, just as Mary and Abe were announcing that from now on it was Max's plant, the showroom door banged open and the forelady marched into the shop. Right behind her was the boss.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He stopped by the machines and just stood there staring at us, with his arms stiff down by his sides, his fingers closed tight like he was going to hit somebody.

If you stopped the power it couldn't have got so still. Everybody shut up.

Everybody except the boss. He raised his white fists over his head and started hollering. "What is this, a debating society? Talk, talk, talk! Or maybe it's just a kindergarten!" Then he started shouting about how he had to have his dresses out, and this was no place for jabbering.

The forelady probably told him about the bean plant, too, because he walked right over to the window and acted like he noticed the plant for the first time. The stalks had spread out on the walls and down to the low bench on the floor where we piled the bundles for the finishers. From the watering Max gave them, the little leaves sparkled with tiny drops, like seltzer bubbles, making all colors in the sun.

"So, also a flower nursery here!" he yelled. "You'll ruin my garments. Outside in the ashcan, this belongs, not here." He reached for the window.

We watched the boss from the corner of our eyes as he took the plant off the windowsill, but we kept on working. Then we stopped suddenly when we heard someone almost scream, "No! Don't! Don't take it!"

It was Max.

He had put down his iron, and his eyes were all wet. "Don't take it!" he said again. "Without it I can't work!"

The boss looked at him.

"Oh, so you can't work without this garbage around, hey?" he yelled, holding the flower pot in his hands. "So you can go home. A dress factory is not a garden!"

He was telling us!

Abe, the chairman, came over to try and straighten things out, but Max kept on talking, loud.

"Sure, a dress factory is not a garden," he said. "But must a factory always be just a factory? A little life in the shop we can't have?"

We were all up from the machines and we crowded around Max, Abe and the boss. The boss was still holding the pot in his hands, the long stems dripping water on his heavily creased suit. He turned his back on Max and yelled at Abe, "Where is it in the agreement that you must have flowers in the shop? Where, answer me that?"

Again, before Abe could open his mouth, Max said, "Where does it say you can't have? And if you say we can't have, so I'll go home." Before we knew what was happening Mary, the finisher, was saying she'd go home, too.

And then somebody else said the same thing, and soon all of us said it, including Abe, who told the boss there was also nothing in the agreement that could make a person work where he didn't want to. Even a whole shop, Abe said, and even right in the middle of a season, like now.

The boss began yelling some more. Only this time he said, "All right, all right, get back to work! Get back to your machines, everybody! And keep your damn plant, but better don't let me find any water spots on the dresses. And no more talking!"

He shoved the plant part way back on the windowsill, and then brushed the water off his suit onto the bundles of dresses for the finishers. His face got red, and he walked out like he was in a terrible hurry, slamming the door.

Max went over to the window and straightened out the plant. He walked back to his pressing board and stood still for a while, watching the sun slip in and out around the bean plant. Then he picked up his iron, and holding it high over the board, pointed his nose at us.

TRUMAN FEEDS THE ELEPHANT

An editorial by A. B. MAGIL

"He [Truman] anticipated the Republican program."—Senator John W. Bricker of Ohio.

"His [Truman's] program for the regulation of labor relations is set off, perhaps a little too transparently, with an attack on 'monopoly,' 'economic concentration' and 'unfair business practices.' Obviously, this does not mean a great deal, but will sweeten the message for labor readers."—New York Herald Tribune, January 7.

AMID the baying of the Republican bloodhounds the voice of Harry S. Truman seemed infinitely feeble and impotent. "There, there," he was saying, "here's a smidge of nice red meat—but only a smidge." They licked his hands, the Brickers and Tafts and Martins and Hallecks, and with a triumphant cry went after more. Rushed into the legislative hopper were a new version of the Case anti-labor bill, two bills by Senator Ball outlawing the closed shop and banning industry-wide collective bargaining and strikes, and one dreamed up by Rep. Clare Hoffman repealing the Wagner Act. One month after the National Association of Manufacturers outlined its labor program (paraded in full-page ads under the ironic title, "For the good of all"), the Republican-controlled Congress had set the machinery in motion for enacting its major planks.

The Truman performance was on the surface adroit, even though, as the *Herald Tribune* put it, "perhaps a little too transparent." It is clear from the President's sponsorship in December, 1945, of his anti-labor "cooling off" proposal and more especially from the labor-smashing bill he demanded in the railroad strike last May and his use of the injunction to break the miners' strike that he has no differences of principle with the Republican reactionaries. His state of the Union message does, however, reflect certain tactical differences. In part these tactical differences are present within the capitalist class itself; in part they are the result of pressure from the labor and progressive movement; in part they represent the cocking of a weather eye toward November, 1948. Yet even on the tactical plane Truman's past record and the warm embrace he has received from the GOP stalwarts indicate that these differences are on his side

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

decidedly malleable; his own inclinations will be to meet the Republicans and tory Democrats a good deal more than half way.

TO GET the meaning of the Truman message and the interplay between him and the Republicans let *us* look at the state of the Union. Economically, we find that in the midst of the greatest peacetime boom in our history there has been, as pointed out in the economic report which the President sent to Congress two days after his message, a "marked decline in real purchasing power of great numbers of consumers, resulting from the large price increases in the second half of last year." And "if price and wage adjustments are not made—and made soon enough—there is danger that consumer buying will falter, orders to manufacturers will decline, production will drop and unemployment will grow. . . ." In other words, a new major depression. Of course, Marxists know that even if prices are lowered and wages raised, such a depression cannot be prevented because the private pocketing of surplus value—the unpaid labor of the workers—makes inevitable a gap between production and consumption, leading sooner or later to a crash. But increased purchasing power can postpone the depression and mitigate it when it comes.

What does Truman propose to meet the danger he himself points to and which his own removal of controls has aggravated? "Private enterprise must be given the greatest possible freedom to continue the expansion of our economy," his message states. In other words, more freedom to raise prices and hasten a depression. As for prices, "It is up to industry not only to hold the line on existing prices, but to make reductions whenever profits justify such action." The President thus announces himself as against sin. But to labor he declares: "It is up to labor to refrain from pressing for unjustified wage increases that will force increases in the price level."

Net corporate profits after taxes, according to Department of Commerce figures, have risen by 33-1/3 percent over 1945. On the other hand, according to the Truman economic report, "The $46 weekly take-home pay of the average factory worker in October, 1946, bought only about as much as the $35 he received in April, 1942." Yet the President in his message proposes no curbs on profits, no curbs on prices; instead, *curbs on labor and on its power to raise purchasing power.*

But, it will be said, Truman's labor proposals are so "moderate." He asks for legislation to ban jurisdictional strikes—and who can deny that the labor movement, especially the AFL, has at times been plagued by jurisdictional strikes?—and certain types of secondary boycotts. And he asks for a commission to investigate and make recommendations concerning "nationwide strikes in vital industries affecting the public interest" and other matters involved in collective bargaining. It all has such an innocent look. And it is all wrapped up in excellent proposals for widening the social security system, better housing, a national health program, etc. In fact, this is the same wrapping paper Truman has used on past occasions—taken from the same wastepaper basket.

Yes, it is true, the President has opened the door only a little—there is a strong Republican wind to blow i wide open. Truman's "moderation" thus facilitates GOI immoderation and ruthlessness directed not only agains labor, but against the great majority of ordinary Americans

The shackling of labor must inevitably constrict th freedom and well-being of the small businessman, wh is being bludgeoned by the same trusts that want to "pu labor in its place," of the professional person, of th working farmer, of our Negro population. One should no ignore the differences that exist today or may arise in th future between Truman and the Republican majority ir Congress. In fact, heat applied by the people may have a beneficial effect on the Truman spine. But one should alsc not ignore the fact that the Truman appeasement progran is not a sheet-anchor but a snare. The American people dic not vote to have the get-tough imperialist policy, which othe peoples had been savoring, now turned against themselves It is time for the people to get tough, time for the AFL tc heed CIO President Philip Murray's call to unite, time foi all Americans who want to halt the drift to Hooverism tc join hands against anti-labor proposals from any source against reaction at home and abroad—to join in shaping a great people's movement that will wrest our country from the murderous grasp of the trusts and build an America of freedom and plenty.

Nydorf.

Harry Delivers.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHAT CAN YOU OWN IN SOVIET RUSSIA?

A comprehensive report on the property rights of people under socialism. The first of two articles.

By MIKHAIL S. LIPETSKER

Mr. Lipetsker is the author of a number of books on Soviet law. He is now senior research worker at the Institute of Law of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

THE principles underlying the system of property ownership in the Soviet Union are defined in the first chapter of the Constitution of the USSR. The system is such as to preclude all element of chance in the distribution of property. The Constitution divides all property into two major groups: *means of production* and *articles of consumption.*

The means of production are the land, natural deposits, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, means of transport, post, telegraph and telephones, trading, insurance and banking establishments, machinery, municipal enterprises and so on.

Articles of personal consumption include all things needed for the subsistence of citizens, such as houses, household furniture and utensils, articles of personal use and convenience, clothing and food.

Quite distinct legal categories govern the ownership of the means of production and that of articles of consumption. All the major means of production—those capable in any way of influencing the economic life of the country as a whole—are *socialist*, or *public property*. They belong to the state, to cooperative enterprises (including collective farms) or to public organizations. The products of such enterprises, as well as their revenues, belong to the state, the cooperative societies or the public bodies, as the case may be.

The socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production constitutes the economic foundation of Soviet society. They are operated, not in the selfish interests of individuals, but for the benefit of society as a whole.

It is socialist property that makes national economic planning possible in the USSR. Planning is an extremely important factor in Soviet economy. It facilitates the expedient and harmonious development of all branches of economic endeavor and assures priority to those branches whose expansion is most essential to the welfare of society at any given period. The tempo of economic life is not governed by chance; it is scientifically determined. We therefore find no disproportion between the various branches of Soviet economy, while crises, unemployment and similar economic disasters are totally precluded. All this, in the final analysis, is due to the fact that socialist property is the dominating form of property in the Soviet Union.

All citizens of the Soviet Union have an equal right to a life of well-being.

This does not mean, of course, that the standard of living of all is the same, that wealth is divided among them equally. Living standards largely depend upon the amount and skill of labor performed, the size of the family, and so on. But Soviet citizens are not divided into proprietors and non-proprietors, *i.e.*, into those who own the means of production and those who own nothing but their labor-power. All citizens of the USSR are members of a society in which all the major means and implements of production are commonly owned. For that reason they cannot be called non-proprietors. They are all—with rare exceptions — employed in socially-owned establishments operating socially-owned means of production. Consequently, there are no class antagonisms in the USSR, and the conflict between "employer" and "worker" does not exist.

Participation in collective production is voluntary. A Soviet citizen who does not desire to work in socialized enterprise may engage in private enterprise —in farming, handicrafts, or in one of the liberal professions. Private enterprice is permitted, provided that it is individual; in other words, that it is carried on without hired labor.

Although sanctioned by law, private enterprise is not popular in the USSR. In 1938 only 5.6 percent of the population were so engaged. Since they may not employ hired labor, the size of these private establishments is necessarily very small. In that same year not more than 0.7 percent of the national income was derived from private enterprise. The influence of private enterprise, therefore, on the economy of the country is insignificant. The property rights of small private enterprises differ very little in legal status from those held by personal property.

Private enterprise is relatively prevalent only in the Soviet Republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, and, to a lesser extent, in Moldavia, where the collective farm movement is only in its early stages. The majority of the peasants still carry on individual farming.

It should be noted that, in contradistinction to the other Soviet republics, the laws of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia do not prohibit the employment of hired labor on privately-owned farms or in privately-owned workshops.

The number of hired workers must not, however, exceed three per establishment.

THE right of property is the most extensive of Soviet civil rights, and is fully protected by the state. The owner may perform any act he pleases with regard to his property, except such acts as are expressly forbidden by law or limited by contract.

Everything on the territory of the Soviet Union has an owner. An ownerless thing is inconceivable. If a thing loses its owner—for instance, if the owner dies without leaving heirs—it automatically becomes the property of the state.

The right of possession means that the owner can decide where to keep his property, demand its restitution if it happens to fall into the hands of others, subject it to any physical process, or even destroy it. The right of use means that he may derive advantage from its useful properties and appropriate its fruit and increment. The right of disposition means that he may sell, exchange, give it away or

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Razel Kapustin.

pledge it, in other words, terminate or limit his ownership rights in it.

The owner may personally exercise the rights of possession or use of his property, or make over these rights to other persons. But he himself may only exercise the right of disposition; he may not transfer it to another.

The owner has very wide liberty of action with regard to his property and, as a rule, may do with it whatever he thinks fit. However, certain limitations are established by law. For example, he may not use his property in a way calculated to jeopardize the interests of the state, or of society, or of other individuals, nor may he use it for speculative purposes or to derive unearned income from it. Other limitations are stipulated by the law of the USSR with regard to specific forms of property—state, cooperative (collective farm) or personal.

Because socialist property is the basis of the prosperity and welfare of the country and of its citizens, it is accordingly more securely safeguarded than other forms of property. The Act for the Protection of the Property of State Enterprises, Collective Farms and Cooperative Organizations regards offenses against socialist property as the most serious of crimes and equivalent to attempts to subvert the Soviet system. Theft of socialist property on a large scale, whether overt or covert, or whether accompanied by violence or not, is liable to severe penalties, up to and including death by shooting and confiscation of property.

The bulk of the arable land of the Soviet Union has been placed at the disposal of the farmers who till it. In 1937 about 87.5 percent of the arable land, or 916,370,000 acres, was being cultivated by collective farms and individual peasants, while only 12.5 percent, or over 125,970,000 acres, was at the direct disposal of the government land departments or operated by state business enterprises.

In most cases land, forests, waters and natural deposits are placed at the disposal of state business enterprises, cooperative and public organizations and private persons free of charge. A small tax known as "land rent" is, however, payable on land assigned for building or business purposes. Enterprises and organizations which have been assigned land for warehouses or for purpose of freight handling on the territory of railway stations, ports and wharves are obliged to bear a share of the expenses of protecting and maintaining the stations, ports or wharves. In some cases payment has to be made for the use of sea fisheries and of certain mineral deposits.

The period of tenure of the above-enumerated properties is in most cases unlimited. In particular, the Constitution of the USSR states that the land occupied by the collective farms is secured to them "in perpetuity." The tenure of the land held by a collective farm can be terminated, or any part of the land withdrawn from it only by special decision of the government. The period of tenure of the land held by individual peasants, of the household plots of collective farmers, and of land, forests and mineral deposits operated by state business enterprises, is likewise unlimited.

Land, forests, waters and natural deposits are assigned only for specifically defined purposes in each case. If they are used for other purposes (*e.g.*, if land assigned for building purposes is ploughed up for cultivation) the administrative authorities may recover them. Tenure may also be terminated if, for instance, farm land is left uncultivated for a definite number of years in succession, mineral deposits are not worked, and so on.

If the holder decides no longer to exploit the land, forest, water area or mineral deposits placed at his disposal, he may not sell, lease, or otherwise transfer it, but must return it to the administrative body which has control over it.

If a person purchases a house, he automatically acquires tenure of the plot on which it stands. Tenure, where the holder is a physical person ("natural person") may be transmitted by inheritance.

Besides direct use of land, forests, waters and deposits, Soviet law also sanctions subsidiary use as, for example, for hunting, fishing (apart from commercial fishing in special fisheries, for which direct tenure is required), bee-keeping, pasturing, grass cutting, or gathering berries, mushrooms and firewood. These uses are in all cases the prerogative of the holder, although he must exercise them himself and may not cede them to others for profit.

THERE is no limit to the amount of personal property a citizen may own. In particular the law sets no limit on savings.

Statistics for 1936 show that in that year private citizens owned nearly 1,000,000 dwelling houses in urban areas and over 19,000,000 houses in rural areas, 1,776,000 horses, 36,117,000 cows and oxen, 40,756,000 sheep and goats, 19,700,000 pigs; and securities (state loan certificates) to the value of nearly 15,000,000,000 rubles.

No exact data as to the prosperity of individual citizens is available, for no such figures are compiled either by

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

e statistical or the revenue authori-es. But some light on the wealth of ome Soviet citizens may be obtained om the following facts.

In 1942-43 a fund was started in id of national defense. Hundreds of housands of persons contributed five, en, twenty thousand rubles and more n money or valuables. Several thou-and persons donated from one to two undred thousand rubles each, among hem scientists, writers, artists, engi-neers, priests, as well as workers and ollective farmers. An instance in point s a collective farmer named Ferapont Golovaty who, in 1942, purchased out of his own funds a warplane for 100,-000 rubles, and in the following year yet another, both of which he donated o a famous air force regiment of the Red Army.

Although the law does not restrict the amount of personal property a citi-zen may own, such restrictions may be voluntarily imposed upon themselves by groups of citizens—at least as re-gards certain kinds of property.

The Model Rules for Collective Farms provide that their members un-dertake not to own over and above a certain quantity of livestock and bee-hives. The number varies with the character of the different regions and ranges from one cow, two calves, two sows and their litters, ten sheep or goats and twenty beehives in the pre-dominantly agricultural regions, to ten cows (not counting calves), ten horses, ten camels, 150 sheep or goats, in the predominantly cattle-raising regions.

The underlying consideration be-hind this rule is that the common en-terprise of the collective farm should serve as the main field of activity and source of income of its members, and that their personal husbandry should bear a subsidiary character.

A government body or official may not confiscate or even requisition for equivalent compensation property be-longing to private citizens or in any way violate or restrict their right of enjoyment of their personal property. The only exception sanctioned by law is in case of national emergency (*e.g.*, time of war) or of natural calamity, when the government may requisition personal property for proper compen-sation. Furthermore, the sentence im-posed by a court for certain criminal offenses may include confiscation of property. A court may also order a distraint upon personal property for non-payment of taxes or debt.

But not all articles of property of private citizens may be subject to dis-traint.

Certain things are exempt, *e.g.*, a definite minimum of clothing, house-hold furniture and utensils, a three months' stock of fuel, food needed for the subsistence of a farmer's family until the new harvest, or, in the case of an urban family, for three months; tools, implements, books, etc., needed by the debtor or by any member of his family for the exercise of his trade or profession; agricultural machines or implements; a definite quantity of live-stock; dwelling houses, and structures which form an essential part of a farmer's husbandry; a definite quan-tity of seed and of fodder for livestock, and the ungathered crop of field, gar-den or orchard.

Exemption also extends to savings bank deposits, share contributions in cooperative societies, or insurance pre-miums on property which is itself not liable to distraint.

Distraint may be levied only on twenty percent of monthly wages or salaries. However, fifty percent of wages and salaries may be levied in cases of distraint for nonfulfilment of orders on which advances have been made by state, cooperative or public bodies, or in compensation for misap-propriated property, or for nonpayment of alimony or maintenance to infirm or disabled members of the defaulter's family.

Pensions and allowances may be distrained upon only for nonpayment of alimony, and that must not ex-ceed thirty percent of the pension or allowance.

While the owner is free to use or dispose of his personal property in any way he thinks fit, there are certain ex-ceptions to this rule, to wit:

Personal property may not be used for the exploitation of the labor of others, nor for the acquisition of un-earned income (*e.g.*, by profiteering or usury).

Articles whose possession and use require the sanction of some adminis-trative body may be disposed of only to that body. For example, the owner of an airplane may sell it only to the Civil Aviation Board; and the pos-sessor of a rifled firearm may sell it only to the People's Commissariat of Home Affairs.

Gold, silver, platinum and metals of the platinum group, in the form of bullion or ore, as well as foreign cur-rency and securities, may be sold only to the State Bank.

The owner of "museum valuables" (objects of art, ancient and historical relics, etc.) registered by the People's Commissariat of Education, may not destroy them or sell them abroad.

Owners of pedigree cattle may slaughter them only with the permis-sion of the veterinary authorities.

The owner of a dwelling house may let any part of it he does not care to occupy himself, but the rent he exacts for it must not be more than twenty percent in excess of the rent paid for similar space in government-owned houses.

The possession of personal property does not involve any additional obliga-tions; the owner, for instance, is not subject to additional taxation. There is no property tax in the USSR, with the exception of a tax on horses owned by individual peasants (*i.e.*, peasants not belonging to collective farms).

However, since the Soviet state is anxious to promote the welfare and prosperity of its citizens, it makes it incumbent on owners of large and im-portant pieces of property to see to their proper maintenance and upkeep. Owners of houses must keep them in a proper state of repair, and, in the event of an owner's deliberately failing to do so, and allowing his house to fall into dilapidation, the local Soviet may apply to the court to have the house turned over to the state. In practice, it has to be established that there were no extenuating circumstances, that the owner was able, but unwilling, to make the necessary repairs.

Owners of houses or other build-ings, livestock, crops, fruit orchards, as well as the tools of a handicraft or trade, are obliged to insure them against fire, damage or other accident.

The concluding installment dealing with the inheritance of property will appear next week.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

review and comment

"DILEMMA" DEBUNKED

In his latest work Herbert Aptheker attacks the foundations of Myrdal's "monumental" structure.

By LLOYD L. BROWN

THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN AMERICA: A Critique of Gunnar Myrdal's "An American Dilemma," *by Herbert Aptheker. International. Paper,* 35c; *cloth,* $1.25.

"WHAT are the five greatest books of all times on race relations?" This question was asked by the *Negro Digest* of "a cross-section of nineteen experts in the field . . . foremost educators, book critics, authors and race relations specialists." Their replies were published in the November 1946 issue of that magazine. The top-ranking book of the five selected, named by fifteen of the nineteen jurors, was *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy,* by Gunnar Myrdal.*

This book was the result of a project, sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, for a general study of the Negro question in the United States. Dr. Myrdal, a member of the Swedish senate and the faculty of the University of Sweden, was selected to direct the project as a man "free [from] presuppositions and emotional charges." The study was conducted over a period of five years, with the findings published by Harper in 1944.

The *Negro Digest's* poll is a striking example of the acclaim which this work has elicited in many quarters as a "monumental study," "*the* definitive work on the Negro problem," etc. Probably its major influence has been among liberals who, to a greater or lesser extent, count themselves among the foes of the Jim Crow system and who are part of the progressive movements of our country. Many of these men and women exert a considerable public influence through their writings, teachings and leadership of organizations. Hence it is clear that Myrdal's work has been placed in a vantage point of great strategic value.

It can be argued that many who hailed this study do not subscribe to the conclusions which Myrdal reaches, just as many who worked in amassing the material upon which the book is based do not agree with the author's findings. That is true. It is also true that many who find value in the enormous collection of data in this two-volume, 1500-page work choose to ignore the philosophic content of its analysis. But nevertheless it is a fact that Myrdal's ideas have been extensively and uncritically accepted in a field in which ideological clarity is vital. Unchallenged, these ideas would disorient the growing struggle of the 14,000,000 Negro people for equal rights.

The publication of Dr. Aptheker's critique of *An American Dilemma* is thus of singular importance. Brilliant in polemic, solid in scholarship, fired with a crusading passion, Dr. Aptheker attacks the foundation of Myrdal's "monumental" structure.

Readers of NEW MASSES may recall the main outline of his argument which was published in these pages as an article entitled "A Liberal Dilemma" (May 14, 1946). The subject was further discussed in an exchange of opinion between Dr. Aptheker and the co-authors of *Black Metropol* Horace R. Cayton and St. Cla Drake, in NM of July 23, 1946.

In his new book Dr. Aptheker car fully examines Myrdal's philosoph history and ethics and finds "Myrdal philosophy to be superficial and erron eous, his historiography demonstrabl false, his ethics vicious, and, therefor his analysis weak, mystical and dan gerous."

The central target for Dr. Apthe ker's attack is the Myrdal repudiatio of a materialist concept of society an the adoption of an idealist base for hi analysis and conclusions. From thi standpoint Dr. Myrdal sees, in th words of his book's introduction, "Th Negro Problem as a Moral Issue.' Dr. Aptheker quotes Myrdal's prin cipal thesis:

"The American Negro problem i a problem in the heart of the American . . . This is the central viewpoint o this treatise" (xliii). "What we usual ly call 'social trends' have their main significance for the Negro's status be cause of what is in the white people's minds. . . . The important changes in the Negro problem do not consist of or have close relations with 'socia trends' in the narrower meaning of the term but are made up of changes in people's beliefs and valuations" (p. 998). (All italics in the original.)

There is abundant evidence that Dr. Myrdal's viewpoint, which conceals the real socio-economic basis for Negro oppression—the root source of white chauvinism and the lynch tree —is being amplified by his American followers. Thus we see Horace R. Cayton writing in his *Pittsburgh Courier* column (Dec. 21, 1946): "We are a nation of Hamlets who do not know whether it is nobler in the mind to suffer or to take arms against a sea of troubles."

The marked class bias of Myrdal's brand of idealism is revealed in his finding that "the Negro's friend—or the one who is least unfriendly—is still rather the upper class of white people, the people with economic and social security" (p. 69).

Dr. Aptheker points out that the omission of any discussion of the Soviet Union's solution of the national question is a significant characteristic of Myrdal's work. "The probability that the omission was deliberate," Aptheker declares, "is enhanced by the fact that the experts consulted by Myrdal, like Klineberg, Du Bois and Boas, repeatedly refer, in their own

* The other four books which polled the highest number of votes were: *Autobiography of Frederick Douglass; The Souls of Black Folk,* by W. E. B. Du Bois; *Up From Slavery,* by Booker T. Washington; and *Black Metropolis,* by St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton.

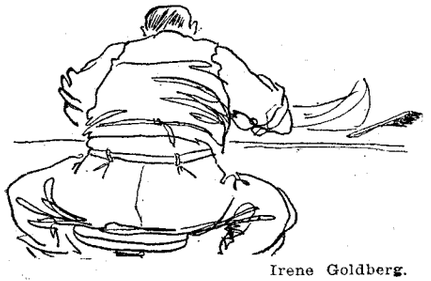
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

writings, to the outstanding example of the Soviet Union in terms of ethnic democracy."

While the essential emphasis of Dr. Aptheker's polemic is against Myrdal's analysis — that is, his ideology — the major portion of his work, in terms of space, is taken up with pointing out the errors of fact with which Myrdal's work is filled and which seriously vitiate its value even as a collection of data. These errors, running into the dozens, include the amazing assertion that science shows the Negro to be inferior! In a detailed challenge of these errors which bulwark Myrdal's false philosophy, Aptheker presents the historical, sociological and psychological facts in refutation.

As opposed to Myrdal, who claims that for the Negro problem the "scientific solution is far beyond the horizon," Aptheker concludes: "The oppression of the American Negro has served as a stumbling block to the forces of progress and freedom for the entire nation throughout its history. It must no longer be tolerated or permitted. In fighting it we fight not only for the Negro, but for all Americans."

In an introduction to the critique Doxey A. Wilkerson provides an outline of the current aspects of the Negro people's struggle. The facts which he



Irene Goldberg.

presents complement Dr. Aptheker's thesis that the basis of Negro exploitation is to be found in our economic system.

Herbert Aptheker's work in the field of Negro history has been of notable value. His criticism of Myrdal, illumined with Marxist insight, is another signal service to the Negro people and their allies. This is a book which should be widely circulated; it can help dispel the smokescreen which has been generated by *An American Dilemma*. Dr. Aptheker has spoken well, and convincingly. It is the duty of the progressive movement to ensure that he is heard.

One other thing might be said: I believe that to a large measure Myrdal's ideological blitz has been a victory by default. Many have been misled in the absence of a truly definitive work on the subject. There is urgent need for such a work. And this must stand as a challenge to the Marxists of America, specifically the Communists who stand in the forefront of the fight for Negro rights. *An American Dilemma* must be replaced by An American Answer to the Negro question.

One Japan?

THE CHRYSANTHEMUM AND THE SWORD, *by Ruth Benedict. Houghton Mifflin.* $3.

OVER the years certain characteristics have been assigned to the people of different countries. The French are still witty and volatile; the Germans ponderous and dull; the Russians, when they are not brooding, have become enigmatic. The Japanese have also been victims of this particular kind of character assassination. For some time now, wide-eyed tourists and newspapermen have been rehashing the picture handed down to us by Lafcadio Hearn: The Japanese are happy, thoughtless little creatures who flutter about aimlessly in a world of tea ceremonies and Japanese gardens. On the other hand, Hollywood had presented us with the picture of the sly little man in horn-rimmed glasses who says one thing and always means another.

Miss Benedict's book does not belong in this category. In it she makes a serious attempt to cut through the cliches and to answer the question: What makes the Japanese Japanese? How do they think, act and feel differently from the people of other countries? She tries to discover the people behind the tintype. Unfortunately, although she succeeds in killing off some of the old cliches, she adds a number of new ones of her own.

Miss Benedict tries to look at the Japanese through the eyes of a social scientist, which means simply to see them as they are. Her approach is clinical. With scientific detachment she tries to get at the roots of their behavior by examining their customs, their habits, their morals, their life in school and the home, their formal philosophy as well as the "intensely human commonplaces" that give richness and meaning to their existence. There is, she shows, no particular mystery about the psychology of the Japanese. They act the way they do because they are taught to act that way. From earliest youth, they are trained to discipline their emotions, avoid shame and humiliation, respect their elders and look down on their inferiors. The child is the father of the man.

The basic pattern of the Japanese, Miss Benedict finds, is their "reliance on order and hierarchy." "Behavior that recognizes hierarchy is as natural to them as breathing." In this rigid and well-defined universe, every person, from the lowest peasant to the Emperor, has a predestined place. This applies to feeling and the emotions as well. Emotions which are permissible in certain situations are not permissible in others. The hierarchy applies to nations also. In this hierarchy, of course, the Japanese were convinced that Japan was at the very top.

The pattern traced by Miss Benedict is simple and neat and has a certain appealing unity of structure. But it is also static and one-dimensional. Miss Benedict keeps building on it until it finally cracks of its own weight. In her world, character does not exist in time and space. The Japanese are incorrigibly feudal. They not only rely on order and hierarchy now; they always have, and they always will—or at least for a "long, long time." Even popular elections won't change them very much, because their attitudes are "inbred," or, if they are not "inbred," they are learned so early in life that it amounts to the same thing. Their character is not the result of a feudal order, but the cause of it. From this, she draws the comforting conclusion that the Japanese are "not revolutionists." She then picks up the slogan of all the pro-Emperor reactionary parties in Japan—that "Western" democracy (whatever that is) is unsuited to the Japanese character. That character seems to require some special kind of democracy (which Miss Benedict conveniently forgets to define and which presumably would include the Emperor). In discussing events since V-J Day, it is, therefore, natural for her to bestow an accolade on General MacArthur for perpetuating the Imperial Family — with its long tradition of militarism and feudal oppression—and for helping to establish this new "Eastern" kind of democracy. Miss Benedict gives the blessing of science to our imperialist policy in the Far East.

Miss Benedict is Freudian to the bitter end. The recent war, it seems,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Calypso Restaurant

presents its

3rd Annual Carnival Costume Dance

FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1947

at

WEBSTER HALL

119 East 11th Street

featuring

McBeth The Great

and many other

Famous Calypso Singers

Music by Gerald Clark and his Caribbean Serenaders

Ismay Andrews and her Swahili Dancers

P. JAY SIDNEY

Master of Ceremonies

TICKETS: $1.50 (at door)

Loges $4.50 Boxes $6.00 Small Tables $2.50

For reservations call

Calypso Restaurant

146 McDougal Street

GRamercy 5-9337

Subscribe Today to

Political Affairs

A Monthly Magazine
Devoted to the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism

JANUARY ISSUE

VOLUME XXVI, NO. I

Lenin on the Struggle for Genuine Political Consciousness: A Basic Lesson for American Labor Today *Editorial*

The December 3-5 Plenary Meeting of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A. Concluding Remarks on the Plenum Discussion *Eugene Dennis*

The Situation in the Trade Unions *John Williamson*

Conclusions from the New York Elections *Robert Thompson*

The Denver Elections *Arthur Bary*

On the Question of Negro Self-Determination *William Z. Foster*

Summary Remarks on the Discussion of the Resolution on Negro Rights *Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.*

Toward a Party of 100,000 *Henry Winston*

Economic Review of 1946 *Labor Research Association*

The Second Chronic Crisis in Agriculture *Robert Digby*

SUBSCRIBE THROUGH YOUR CLUB OR LOCAL BOOKSHOP

SINGLE COPIES 25 CENTS

SUBSCRIPTION . . . $2.50

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

832 Broadway New York 3, N. Y.

was also due to the Japanese character. Hitler may have gone to war to get his hands on Russian oil, but the Japanese "derive their aggression in a different way. They need terribly to be respected in the world. They saw that military might had earned respect for great nations and they embarked on a course to equal them." The Manchukuo Development Company apparently was an afterthought. All the evidence uncovered since the end of the war disposes of Miss Benedict's theory on this subject. The militarists, although they played heavily on the theme of "self-respect" in their propaganda to the people, never deluded themselves about what they were fighting for.

There are no classes in Miss Benedict's Japan. There are only "the Japanese." Rich man, poor man, exploited worker and billionaire "zaibatsu" all adhered to the same code of conduct. This is, of course, simply nonsense. Every schoolboy, for example, is taught to revere frugality and simplicity. But while the workers and peasants adhered to this standard from sheer necessity, the "zaibatsu" and militarists, with their mistresses, their pornographic pictures and their orgies of Sun Tory whiskey, were notorious for their prodigal living. Miss Benedict makes no distinction between the two groups.

She also makes the mistake of failing to distinguish between formal codes of conduct and the actual code. She emphasizes, for example, the importance of "honor," "shame" and "moral responsibility" in Japanese life. When the war ended, the Old Japan Hands predicted that the militarists would all rush for their hara-kiri knives to atone for their failures. Actually, nothing of the sort took place. They merely went into retirement for a while and then set up shop as exponents of "dem-ok-rasie." The new Japanese "Liberal Party" is filled with them. "Between the idea and reality falls the shadow."

Events that have taken place since the end of the war have fortunately disproved many other of Miss Benedict's assumptions. Some 4,000,000 people—among them almost 1,000,000 women—have joined the trade unions; and about 1,000,000 of Miss Benedict's "non-revolutionary" Japanese voted for the Communist Party in the last election. On street corners and at private gatherings, it is not unusual to hear people mimicking the Emperor. These developments are surprising for a country where hierarchy was as "natural as breathing."

The basic error in Miss Benedict's work is her failure to understand that character exists only in the here-and-now. It is always moving (even when it seems to be moving the least), reflecting and at the same time changing the great social forces around it. That is what makes it so rich and complex—the subtle and ever-shifting interplay between the old and the new. With the growth of monopoly capitalism in Japan, the old patterns of behavior began to disintegrate and the people were impelled to reach out for new ones that would enable them to cope with their new problems. The growth of the labor movement during the Twenties was one reflection of this. The suppression of this movement did not eliminate the growing hostility to hierarchy; it merely forced the people to repress their feelings. Miss Benedict, who is so sensitive to the effect of repression on children, seems to assume that this hostility disappeared into thin air. That is why she is so unprepared for the great changes that have taken place during the past year. The end of the war merely removed the lid from the kettle; the pot was already boiling.

Discussion of the effect of this repression on the Japanese character and the growth of the new behavior patterns within the shell of the old would have given additional flesh and blood to Miss Benedict's portrait and would have provided the basis for understanding the changes that must inevitably take place in the future. Her viewpoint in this book is particularly hard to understand, for she has always identified herself with the progressive viewpoint on the vital issues in American life.

One can only feel that she would have arrived at different conclusions had she had the opportunity to visit Japan after the war and gather her material first-hand.

DAVID ARNOLD.

Animals & Witches

YES AND NO STORIES, *by George and Helen Papashvilly. Harper.* $2.50.

FOR parents who have exhausted their repertoire of stock-in-trade children's stories, here is welcome relief. Although the over-flap promotion of the Papashvillys' latest collec-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

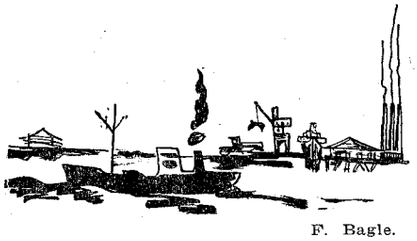
on of Georgian folk tales recommends them for "readers of all ages," his reviewer cannot let her enthusiasm carry her quite so far. But for the discerning juvenile set, and perhaps those adults uninhibited enough to enjoy yarns of magic, talking animals, andry wizards, witches and the like, he *Yes and No Stories* are charming digressions from the beaten path.

Here are tales of a robust peasant olk, lively as a festival, filled with all he color and fantasy of Russian handicraft. Helen Papashvilly tells them in warm and candid style, simple nough for a four-year-old to follow. Yet the plots she adapts are sufficiently omplex and suspenseful to hold the nterest of the twelve-year group. Through pages animated with quaint voodcut illustrations parade all manner of unusual folk—nine-headed Devis who eat horses on the hoof, an Eshmahkie (described as a "kind of econd-class witch") who will be your willing slave if you can only cut its ingernails, the fox who turns a miller nto the King of all the Noise in the World, the wolf who goes to Jerusalem to repent his sins, the youth who builds a house of elephants' bones—not to mention a throng of cunning rogues, bucolic supermen, witty beggars and witless kings. Indeed, some of the tales are minor classics of homespun humor, as for example the yarn about the king who matches wits with a peddler and is utterly vanquished, although each has delightfully misinterpreted the other.

Throughout the stories runs an earthy irreverence for pomp and power. The writers reflect the natural common sense of all folksay — the peasant's keen eye for what is substance and what is show. The *Yes and No Stories* are replete with bread-and-butter realities, garnished with the wildest imaginable flights into fantasy.

Children of all ages will revel in them, and you'll find them easier on the tongue that nine-tenths of the current juvenile writing.

LUCILLE BOEHM.



F. Bagle.

Labor's Legal Battles

LABOR AND THE LAW, *by Charles O. Gregory. Norton. $5.*

PROFESSOR GREGORY has written a clear statement of the legal issues involved in the historical struggles of workers and employers. He presents an analysis of the development of legal doctrines in relation to the right to belong to unions, the injunction, the right to strike; and the body of law that has grown in the last fifteen years. He does not make an extended analysis of the laws and cases. Rather he has discussed a few key cases and the fundamental principles growing out of them. Unfortunately, much of the book is infused with the dry qualities of a textbook, and will have little appeal to trade union members.

The major weakness of the book is that, like many writers on legal questions, Professor Gregory has abstracted the legal issues from society. He fails to show that the law is itself the product of the very struggles with which it is concerned. For instance, the injunction is not presented for what it is—an instrument devised solely to break strikes. He does not indicate that the worker who sees his strike being broken is little interested in the legal arguments and may be tempted to discover ways of evading or smashing the injunction. The reader gets no hint that behind the fight over representation under the National Labor Relations Act is the issue of back-dooring, where the employer calls in one union to stave off organization by another. The existence of the Wagner Act is attributed to the legislative requests of the AFL. At no time does he relate the act and the Supreme Court's reversal of its earlier decisions to the unprecedented strike wave in the middle Thirties.

His conclusions are the usual stuff about limiting the power of unions. He rather likes the Railway Labor Act except for one reason—"its cost has been an almost routine concession to the unions of the bulk of their demands." This will be news to railroad workers. He constantly speaks of big unionism, of the uncontrolled power of the unions, of their becoming too potent. Yes, they are—for the employers.

An exciting and important book can be written on the subject of labor and the law. But this certainly is not it.

GEORGE SQUIER.

PEOPLES' SONGS, Inc., Presents

JOSH WHITE
TOWN HALL
SAT. EVE., JAN. 18 at 11:30 P. M.
Tickets $2.40, $3 at Box Office
People's Songs Subscribers $2.29, $2.75
$1.20, $1.80, $1.10 & $1.65 Tickets Sold Out

One of the most completely delightful pictures ever screened—4 stars.
—Chicago Times

ARTKINO Presents
'STONE FLOWER'
First Prize Color Film
At International Cinema Festival
Directed by A. PTUSHKO
STANLEY 7th Ave., Bet. 41 & 42 Sts. WIsconsin 7-9686

ARTKINO PRESENTS
"The Taras Family"
A scathing indictment of race hatred
Also HARRY BAUR in
"The Mad Emperor"
IRVING PLACE IRVING PL. at 15th St.

44
Paintings by
MENEHEM LEWIN
Jan. 7th thru 27th
th St. Gallery
133 West 44th St.

MEN RELAX — KEEP FIT!
Special Yearly Gym Course $135.00
Special For Boys
Boxing Scientifically Taught
WOMEN—Mon-Wed-Fri 10 a.m.-9 p.m.
Special Short Courses
GOODWIN'S GYM
1457 Broadway (42nd St.) WI. 7-8250

THERE IS ONLY ONE
RUSSIAN SKAZKA
RESTAURANT
227 WEST 46th ST. • CI 6-7957

plum point
vacation fun, 1 year round
on the majestic Hudson
• seasonal sports
• delicious food
• gay informality

55 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY • NEWBURGH 4270

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sights and sounds

YOU HAVE TROUBLES?

Colbert and Crawford sweat it out in the penthouse. Life is a trap, but Hollywood has the key.

By JOSEPH FOSTER

THE rich are always in trouble. They are so full of anguish over their problems that they never have time to enjoy their money or their beautiful possessions. Some people may doubt this, but I am not one of them. That is because, as a constant moviegoer, I am always in close touch with the subject. Take *The Secret Heart* (Capitol). In this film, the stylish glamor-matron is played by Claudette Colbert, the American Mrs. Miniver. Since Miss Colbert is almost always cast in a role that requires head-high manners while the fox of misfortune gnaws at her vitals, you can be sure that *The Secret Heart* contains many a heart-tugging problem.

The matron, married to a banker, is loved secretly by his friend the ship-builder. The banker loves music, but had to chose banking (honor of the family). He becomes a dipso, hangs about the piano all day, and ends up by plundering his own bank. (Lost his head, as the film delicately puts it.) Claudette's daughter has a psychologial fixation about her dad, who in the meantime has committed suicide. *She* hangs about the piano all day, plays his songs and refuses to see anybody. She is about to go off her beam, when she too falls for the ship-builder. Thus, to cap all her troubles, the poor mother has a rival in her own daughter. But she doesn't recognize the problem; nor does the ship-builder, although what is eating the girl is as obvious as a shelfful of Freud's works.

The daughter sees suicide as the only way out, but the presence of Walter Pidgeon in the film, as the ship-builder, precludes such an eventuality. Pidgeon is always the steady type, always puffing calmly on his pipe though the world itself may be coming down around his ears. In fact, his pipe is the most important prop in the film. It symbolizes the stability that will finally set all things right. Pidgeon is the symbol of the rich, who must never lose their heads, because if they do the whole battle is lost. So the daughter is rescued at the last moment, and is right away interested in boys of her own age, thus demonstrating a complete return to normalcy; the father is whitewashed and fixed as a man more to be pitied than blamed, the mother gets the ship-builder, and the ship-builder his secret wish. But don't think that their happiness will remain unmarred. There will be another film along soon in which Colbert will once again quietly sweat out her agony, until Walter Pidgeon or some other gallant captain of industry comes along and permits her to enjoy his country home with tranquillity.

THEN there is Joan Crawford, who is *really* in a mess in *Humoresque* (Hollywood). Miss Crawford is always involved in tragedy. The richer she gets, the greater her tragedy. She wasn't actually in trouble in *Mildred Pierce* until she accumulated gobs of money, and in her present film she is handicapped by starting out with it. She is married to a series of weaklings who do nothing but swill liquor, ride the hounds, loll on their estates and make tepid love. She is a snob sister who finds that snobbery is not enough. She wants LIFE. So she meets it in John Garfield, who is an ambitious fiddler from New York's East Side. She sponsors him into stardom, a development he accepts, but resents. She in turn resents the fact that he won give up the fiddle and devote himsel exclusively to her passionate love. Fol lows a number of acts based on crud motivations and false situations, i which she is either smashing glasses o drinking herself into a torpor. *Abe* her romance, *es geht nicht*. Her selfish wealthy existence has not prepare her to deal with problems, so she walk out of the patio of her beach hous (and what a house) into the ocea without breaking her stride, to the wil throbbing accompaniment of the *Lieb estodt* from Wagner's *Tristran*.

Humoresque, rewritten from th Fannie Hurst novel by Clifford Odets bears little resemblance to the original That is not nearly as important a the fact that this film shows a continuing decline in the powers of Odets Unlike a previous work by this write on the struggles of an East Side violinist (*Golden Boy*), *Humoresque* is completely devoid of mature ideas, characters, problems or sentiments. His dialogue is as hopped-up as the music, which has a brand-new violin solo part running right up the middle of Wagner's score.

"It's A Wonderful Life" (Globe) is a film of a slightly different order, but here too the suicide motif figures largely in the story. It is the first film directed by Frank Capra since the war, and is peopled by all the small people and small incidents that have come to characterize a Capra film. But his little people are always quaint and coy and small-town, even when they live on the busiest corners of large cities. Life as it is presented by this director is life as it is lived on the covers of the *Saturday Evening Post*. He has, however, such a talent for slickness and persuasion that the most outlandish incidents in his films take on a semblance of reality.

The hero is the owner of a small town building-and-loan company, from which he pays himself forty-five dollars a week (the script doesn't make clear whether this figure is gross or take-home). Out of this regal sum he supports himself, a wife and two kids, and straightens out an occasional financial crisis in his business. The early part of the story concerns his struggle against the town banker, an evil, leering skinflint right out of Horatio Alger, Jr., and the difficulties he has making ends meet. From the vantage point of forty-five dollars a week he sees his plans frustrated, his hopes smashed, his dreams for a full

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

e evaporate. What goes on here, ou ask yourself? So far as you can see, ere is a picture taking up the cudgels f the little man in his effort to hack ut a decent existence. Life, our film saying, is a trap. But no sooner do ou start to gaze upon the screen with nterest then things suddenly change. Our hero, through no fault of his own, as to make good a large sum of noney that has been mislaid. In desair at finding the thousands he needs, e gets tanked up and makes for the earest river (is this all beginning to ound familiar?). But his guardian ngel, who has been discussing him up n the clouds, comes down to extricate im from the muddle. He shows the ero what the town and its inhabitants would be like if he hadn't lived. Relieved to find that he had escaped a life wherein nobody recognized him, since if he hadn't lived, nobody could know him, he rushes home to his wife, his children and friends. He realizes how selfish has been his struggle for a better life. He is so overjoyed by the privilege of living at all that his cup runneth over. To top it all his neighbors have passed the hat around and raised the necessary bucks to get him out of his tight spot.

Yes indeedy, life is wonderful. Even if we can't pay our bills, what does it matter as long as we have friends? Life is a trap, schmap, crap. With your loving pals around you, poverty is bearable, even beautiful.

ON BROADWAY

I AM told that the production cost of a musical averages a quarter of a million dollars, or about four times the cost of mounting an ordinary play. Consequently, box-office consciousness is stronger here than in other types of theater, and operates within a narrower range. It tends to a behavioristic view of human reactions sometimes so complete that it would have startled Watson. Anesthetize the mind and then, through a din of tom-tom music, apply certain standard stimuli, and the belly laugh, the sigh and the accelerated pulse of the Peeping Tom are instantly evoked. And it is to achieve these reflexes, according to certain business minds in the theater, that audiences crowd to the musicals.

Forrest Wilson.

However, a glance at the musical hits of the past seasons indicates that intelligence, wit and good music draw better than corn; that in a musical, as in any stage piece, lines that have point go better than lines that lack point; and that, where the book and lyrics of a successful musical lack these qualities one finds them embodied in the star who, in such cases, usually carries the show. A current example is Ethel Merman, who sustains the otherwise tawdry *Annie Get Your Gun*.

I have been prompted to these remarks by three recent musicals, one of which has already expired while the other two are not likely to endure long. Consciously or not all three worked on the behaviorist thesis, presuming an audience taste little above that of the glandular impulse.

The late and unlamented musical *If The Shoe Fits* was unquestionably the worst production of the year. Its producers tried to keep it going despite a unanimously down-thumbing press. They ran display advertising which twisted random phrases out of the notices, committing reviewers to opinions the reverse of those they had expressed. This expensive lying was based, like the production itself, on a drastic underestimation of the average intelligence. The public was disappointingly unmoronic; it was not taken in.

If The Shoe Fits did its best to extract humor out of the Cinderella story by having the fairy godmother make a play for Prince Charming. From this new angle it labored to generate some bawdiness. With unerring bad taste, *If The Shoe Fits* succeeded, even in minor things like costumes and stage properties, in touching the lowest levels. It was painful to watch talented actors, particularly Florence Desmond, trying to vitalize the dead matter provided for them in the book.

Toplitsky of Notre Dame does not drop to so low a level. It has some old-fashioned but vigorous and rhythmic dancing; and its "I Want to Go to City College" number is genuinely amusing and should get its performer, Frank Marlowe, into brighter shows. In all its other aspects *Toplitsky of Notre Dame* presumes on a public guaranteed to react to mawkishness.

The mawkishness here is in the *Abie's Irish Rose* tradition. The justification of George Marion, Jr., who is responsible for the book, may be that it seeks to humanize the Jew, Toplitsky, through the medium of the football craze that he and the others concerned seem to feel makes all races kin. Actually it accepts or tries to make acceptable one of the chief items in the anti-Semite's bill of particulars; namely, that Jews are not participants, but get an absentee's unearned share of goods and glory. The football-mad Toplitsky, adorer of Notre Dame, it is emphasized, has never even gone to see a game; and after that is established, the football trophies he has collected seem out of place. And it does not take a particularly prejudiced eye to look for method in a madness that draws the thirsty college and alumni trade to Toplitsky's Tavern.

How much unconscious anti-Semitism the production reflects and how well the conscious plugs for interracial harmony counterbalance it may be debated. There can be no debate, however, about the inanity of the book, which discloses a conception of public taste as all drooling sentimentality.

A LOW opinion of public taste from another angle marks the musical *Beggar's Holiday*. This slick and sophisticated show operates on the assumption that theater audiences have little head and no heart and respond mainly to the sexually quivering torso. There is thus something particularly pointless in its use of the classical *Beggar's Opera* for it takeoff. *The Beggar's Opera* was a satirical parody of the fashionable opera of its day, and there was a Hogarthian social criticism

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in its use of the underworld background. To what end *Beggar's Holiday* set out to parody this parody is a mystery. Its use of prostitutes, gangsters and loot has no satirical or social motive.

Beggar's Holiday takes a good step forward on the New York stage by bringing a Negro and white cast together; but the good effects are partially vitiated by the content of the performance. Why must the dive continue to provide the settings when Negroes are on the stage? Why must their dancing always be "hot"?

If *Beggar's Holiday* makes any point at all it is that evil has charms. There are some tepid efforts at satire in the pictures of grafting authority; but it comes to another variant of the same thing; the inevitability of evil. John Latouche, who has done better things, may have intended the audience to take off from that into nobler altitudes, but the paralyzing sophistication with which he has drenched the book makes such flights impossible.

Duke Ellington's music to all this was efficient, but not memorable. Alfred Drake sang too continuously for the unchanging music provided him. Zero Mostel was good as the grafting sheriff, but one yearned for the pointed, satirical impersonations of his usual repertoire. Avon Long as Careless Love and Marie Bryant as Cocoa would be good in probably anything and were very good here in their role of dancing naughtiness. But these bright spots could not save the play from the dullness and depression curiously symbolized by the almost constantly darkened sets.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

RECORDS

THE Compass Record Company, in making available to the American public a catalogue of imported recordings from the USSR, gives us an opportunity to find out for ourselves what is doing in Soviet musical culture without depending upon the caprices of visiting reporters. The first offering includes the Miaskovsky Symphony No. 21, the Shostakovich Trio, Prokofieff's Suite No. 2 from his ballet "Romeo and Juliet," and a host of single records.

What is immediately apparent from these recordings is that there is no "official" Soviet music. These works are completely different from one another in style and form. If there is one characteristic that unites them, it is the exaltation of honest emotion as the basis of music, regardless of whatever manner each composer uses to evoke emotion. And this character is found as well in the performances. While the players are masters of their

Nakata.

craft, one hears no virtuosity for its own sake. The emotional message of the music is paramount. The performance of the Shostakovich work, for example, with the composer himself at the piano, makes it sound far more moving than the performance I heard in concert here, expert as that was. It is hard to imagine more impassioned, yet controlled performances than Rachlin conducts of the Miaskovsky work or Prokofieff of his own.

The recordings are faithful and full-bodied in sound, which is not as good as some domestic recording and better than others. A program like this of making Soviet recordings available to the general public can be of great value in tightening cultural relations between the USSR and ourselves. Unfortunately the idea of such as exchange raises some embarrassing questions. Our major record companies have not been as proud of our composers as the Soviet record makers are of theirs. Should we want other people, and in fact, our own people to hear the works of our own master craftsmen who have been writing for a long time, such as Ives, Sessions, Ruggles and Riegger, we would fir that there are no recordings availabl

Getting down to the music itsel the most important novelty is th Miaskovsky symphony, the only one this composer's twenty-five symph nies to be available on records. Or gets from this work a clue as to ho this composer can be so prolific i symphonies. The form to him is sma ler, a medium for more personal fan tasy, than it was to giant symphonis such as Beethoven and Brahms. may be compared to the free sonat movements of Beethoven, which h often labelled fantasias, or the ton poems of Tschaikowsky. This is beautifully lyrical work by a romanti composer who knows, unlike som romantics, that counterpoint is th secret of musical movement and tigh construction. In its alternation of song ful and dramatic passages, it has glow about it of old folk ballad an legend (C 103). The Shostakovicl Trio, Op. 67, for violin, cello an piano, is probably his masterpiece o chamber music. It resembles hi Quintet in its imaginative play witl tone colors, but is more concise an more moving. An elegaic work, writ ten in memory of the composer's friend Sollertinsky, its slow fugal introduction and slow movement prope are deeply touching in melody. Ever the scherzo and the closing movemen based on Jewish folk dances are tinged with sadness. Shostakovich, for all hi agile counterpoint, is essentially homophonic, single-voiced composer which often causes him to spread hi ideas thinly. The present work suffers little from this weakness (C 102).

My particular favorite among these recordings is the Prokofieff "Romeo and Juliet." The two slow sections of this work, "Romeo and Juliet before Parting" and "Romeo at Juliet's Grave" are great symphonic writing in which a freshness of instrumentation, harmony, melody and counterpoint merge into one original and powerful musical texture. Other movements display an amazingly imaginative use of dance ideas, including satire, in "The Montagues and Capulets," a delicate mixture of song and frivolity in "Juliet the Girl," national abandon in the "Russian Dance," eighteenth-century sweetness in the "Dance of the Maidens of the Antilles" (C 101).

In a lighter vein, there is an album of folk songs by the great basso Chaliapin which must be very old, but which display all the magic of his

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

singing (C 52). A number of single discs by the Alexandrov Chorus offer an excellent program of the choral music based on folk song which is as central to Russian popular music as jazz is to ours. Just as our popular and folk music speaks for us, when not besmirched by the Tin-Pan-Alley factories, so this choral music brings to us a living image of the Soviet people. A variety of moods are recorded; the tender sentiment of "Evening by the Roadstead" (C 143-4), the heroic strength of "Our Guards" (12918), the exuberant gayety of "Strolling on Bank" (13303). And there is a genuine hands-across-the-sea content in these records. "There's a Tavern in the Town" is given a boisterous performance by the same chorus (12751) and "K-K-K-Katy" is delightfully transformed into "Serenade of the Stammerer" (13351). "The St. Louis Blues" is given a genuinely hot performance on an orchestral record, replete with hot trumpet and piano solos, riffs, a scat-chorus, and even a hot lick by the violin (12215).

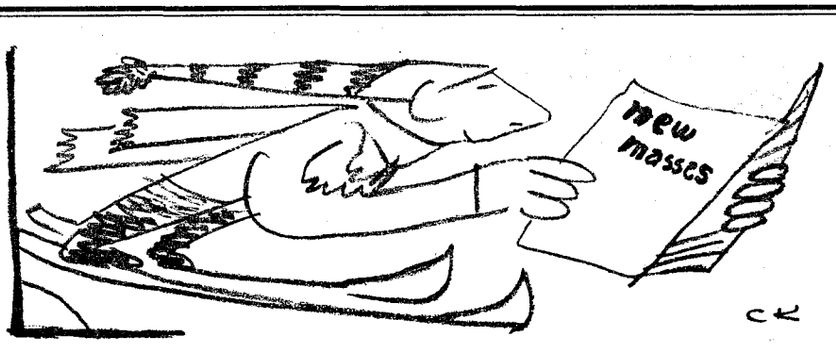
The violin virtuoso, David Clistrakh, performs Sarosate's "Spanish Dance (Zapateado)" and Kreisler's arrangement of "Swanee River" (12457). The equally renowned pianist, Emil Hillel, does Rachmaninoff's "Daisies" and the Chopin Military Polonaise (13298). All performances are completely convincing, and whet our appetite to hear a major work done by these artists. Finally the "Lezginka" and "Sword Dance" from Khachaturian's ballet, "Gayenne," performed by a symphony orchestra, are exotic dances which should make as popular listening as De Falla's "Fire Dance" (12502).

S. FINKELSTEIN.

THE DANCE

THE first Broadway appearance of Jose Limon and his small company reveals one of the finest groups in the modern dance field. In addition to Limon, the ensemble consists of Pauline Koner, Letitia Ide, Miriam Pandor, Meg Mundy and Choreographer Doris Humphrey. In its use of lighting, costuming, music, decor and direction, the company gives modern dancing a theatricality comparable to the traditional ballet.

The linear patterns of the dancer, comparable to the calligraphy of the painter, has always been one of the



NEW MASSES' WINTER CARNIVAL

February 12-13-14-15-16

Send reservations directly to Arrowhead Lodge, Ellenville, N. Y.
Chartered bus reservations made directly through
NEW MASSES, 104 East 9th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

Buses leave from New Masses office {Tuesday, February 11 at 7 p.m. / Friday, February 14 at 7 p.m.

RATES: For the 5 days—$35
For the week-end (2 days, Saturday and Sunday)—$18
For the week-end (3 days, Friday, Saturday and Sunday)—$24
For one week—$45 and $50

WINTER SPORTS • ENTERTAINMENT • LECTURES

For further information, phone GRamercy 3-5146

THE YEAR 'ROUND SPIRIT
BOOKS ARE GOOD THE YEAR 'ROUND

Give NEW MASSES

(1 year subscription $6)
GET one of these books FREE

FOR ADULTS

1B THE AMERICAN—*Fast*
2B THE GREAT CONSPIRACY *Sayers and Kahn*
3B THE JUNGLE—*Sinclair*
4B THE UNVANQUISHED—*Fast*
5B THE BIG ROAD *Norman Rosten*
6B SHORT STORIES—*Albert Maltz*
7B CLODS OF SOUTHERN EARTH *Don West*
8B SISTER CARRIE—*Dreiser*
9B LOOKING BACKWARD *Bellamy*
10B CAPITAL—*Karl Marx*
11B THE ROAD TO THE OCEAN *Leonov*
18B JEWS IN AMERICAN HISTORY —1654-1865—*Philip S. Foner*
19B ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO— *Herbert Aptheker*
20B THE PROBLEM OF INDIA— *R. Palme Dutt*

FOR CHILDREN

1A TOOTKA—Little Russian Train
Igor's Summer
Little People in a Big Country
2A YOUNG FOLKS OF THE AMERICAS
3A THE EGG AND THE CHICK *by Millicent E. Selsam*
32 pages, 3 colors, cloth. Ages 6 to 9
4A CLIMBING THE FAMILY TREE— *by Alex Novikoff*
A book of science for youthful readers. Age 12 and up. 96 pages, 3 colors, cloth
5A THE STORY OF YOUR COAT— *by Clara Hollos*
Pictures by Herbert Kruckman. Ages 6 to 10
6A HOW THE AUTOMOBILE LEARNED TO RUN—*by M. Ilin.*
Pictures by Herbert Kruckman. Ages 7 to 10, 32 pages, 3 colors, cloth
7A I HEAR THE PEOPLE SINGING— Poems *by Walt Whitman*
Illustrated *by Alexander Dobkin*
Age 12, 96 pages, 35 drawings, cloth

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Camp Beacon

BEACON, N. Y. BEACON 731

Everything for the Perfect Winter Vacation

- SKIING
- TOBOGANNING
- SKATING

PLUS

CASS CARR'S BAND
Every Saturday Night

RESERVE NOW!
ACCOMMODATIONS LIMITED!

HOTEL ALLABEN

Jack Schwartz, *Prop.*

Make Reservations for Your Winter Holiday
NEW PROGRAMS EVERY WEEKEND
501 Monmouth Ave., Lakewood, N. J.
LAkewood 6-0819, 6-1222

GOING TO LAKEWOOD?
VISIT THE
JEFFERSON HOTEL
'A WINTER HOME AMONG THE PINES'

- FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE
- ALL WINTER SPORTS NEARBY
- REASONABLE RATES

124 Third St. • Lakewood 6-0672
EVA CHASANOV, *Prop.*

50 miles from New York

Mamanasco LAKE LODGE

A resort of distinction fashioned from a magnificent private estate. All winter sports, Skating on 1½ mile lake, bicycles, ping pong. Roaring fireplaces. Excellent book and musical libraries. Famous cuisine.
Phone: Ridgefield 820

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.

OPEN YEAR ROUND

Reasonable Rates

Indoor and Outdoor Sports

SKATING, SKIING, TOBOGANNING
OPEN FIRES, RECORDINGS
ARROWHEAD, Ellenville, N. Y.; Tel. 502

less realized aspects of modern dance. These patterns are created out of the choreographer's ideas plus the ability of the dancer to translate them. In Jose Limon and his colleagues we get a maturing of this process. In Limon especially there is a clarity and flawlessness of movement that alone gives the modern dance status among the arts.

It is in the second half of the program that the abilities of the company come to full flowering. This section consisted of two numbers, "The Lament for Ignacio Sanchez Mejias," a fallen toreador, and "The Story of Mankind." Both are directed by Doris Humphrey. The first is based on a poem by Garcia Lorca, the sentiments of which are worked out in the movements of Limon, who presents the death, the glories and the immortality of the bull-fighter; of Letitia Ide, who represents the implacable fate that pursues and finally overtakes Mejias, and of Meg Mundy, who is the anguished symbol of his womenfolk. Miss Humphrey shows herself to be a director of sensitivity and talent, as she has in the past with her own company. The structure and form of the dance are held to simple and economical patterns, which is a great relief from the overdetailed gestures that encumber so many compositions. More than that, she directs with an eye not only to mood and movement and pattern, but to the integration of all the elements into a dramatic whole. The poetry of Garcia Lorca limns not so much the death of a bull-fighter as the mortality of man and the immortality of his qualities, and this meaning is captured by the choreography.

The poetry itself is recited by the two women on stage. This technique of accompaniment has the advantage of identifying the characters with the sentiments they are interpreting, but it also places a burden upon the vocal eloquence of the dancer, as well as giving her an extra worry. I suspect, by her manner of moving, that Miss Mundy is an actor rather than a dancer, yet even so she failed to do justice to the poetry. She was too polite and ladylike and even-toned for the range and subtlety of Lorca's lines. At times her reciting tended to flatten out the whole work. It was the only poor note in an otherwise brilliant performance. Limon and Pauline Koner, who can hold her own on any dance stage, made a harmonious team for "Story of Mankind." Director and dancers expressed a fine comic sense as the jour-

NEW MASSES

Classified Advertisements

50¢ a line. Payable in advance. Min. charge $1.50. Approx. 7 words to a line.
Deadline, Fri., 4 p.m.

RoKo GALLERY **RoKo FRAMES**
Exhibition of Drawings and Prints by Leading American Artists
Expert framing at reasonable prices
We solve all framing problems
51 Greenwich Ave. (east of 7th Ave. & 11 St.)

BAGS, BELTS

Ladies Bags, Belts, made to order. Repairing and Remodeling, reasonable. NEW YORK FASHION BAG CO., 1133 Lexington Ave., New York (near 79th St.). RE. 7-5242.

INSURANCE

LEON BENOFF, 391 East 149th St., N. Y. For every kind of Insurance with efficient service. MELrose 5-0934. Free Information.

INSURANCE

CARL BRODSKY—Automobile, fire, life, liability, burglary, plate glass, surety bonds, compensation etc. Any kind of insurance, 799 Broadway, New York City. Tel. GRamercy 5-3826.

EYE CARE

EUGENE STEIN, Optometrist—Eye examinations—Glasses Fitted—Visual Training. Room 507, 13 Astor Place (140 East 8th St.), NY 3. GRamercy 7-0930.

PIANO TUNING

Piano tuning, repairing, tone restoring and reconditioning. Pianos bought & sold. Ralph J. Appleton. 595 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y. Tel. PL. 3-0566.

TYPEWRITER CO.

Typewriters, mimeos, adders, office machines repaired. Buy, sell, exchange. Monthly service. 100% union. Vets. A & B Typewriter—633 Melrose—JE 8-1604.

NOTARY PUBLIC—STENOGRAPHER

All kinds of work well done—organizational, legal documents and manuscripts. Phone NEvins 8-3743, Saturdays all day and evenings from 7 til 10 P.M.

WANTED

Advertising Salesman for progressive Publication, full or part time. Commission against small drawing account. Call Gr 3-5146 ex. 15.

STUDIO WANTED

Studio, kitchenette and bath, Manhattan. Reasonable rent. Will sublet unfurnished. Box 57, NM.

RESORTS

RESTFUL VACATION AT HEALTH REST, VEGETARIAN. Delicious food, comfortable rooms, baths. Spring Valley N. Y. Phone Nanuet 2316.

VINEYARD LODGE

Charming modern farm hotel, 200 acres—unusually beautiful country, seasonal sport, new tile showers, wood burning fireplace, well balanced American Jewish meals. Adults only. Open all year. Vineyard Lodge, Ulster Park, New York. Kingston 659 J2.

NEED AN EXTRA BED?
or STUDIO COUCH?
Use any bed spring with attachable bed legs
Do it yourself in 5 minutes at home
Gottlieb Hardware
119-3rd Ave. (cor. 14)
GR. 7-4547
I. Fishman
261 E. 172nd St., Bronx
LU. 7-2647

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ey of mankind is briefly sketched from he cave to the era of atomic fission. They begin by shivering as they build heir first fire and end the same way s they read the current headlines.

The all-around competence of this group, counting the music of Norman Lloyd and the costume designing of Pauline Lawrence Limon, leads to the hope that it might initiate the building of a long-needed dance theater. If the modern dance is ever going to make itself felt as an independent art form it can only do so through such a theater. A dance organization creating a modern ballet that could make its comment on contemporary life would do for us what the traditional ballet did for its day. In fact, it could achieve considerably more, since it would go far beyond a mere mechanical reflection of the manners and styles of the times. A *pas de trois*, so beautifully performed in modern dance terms by Limon, Pauline Koner and Miriam Pandor to Bach's music, could, with a slight change of direction, transcend an appeal limited only to the senses. There have been, in the past, ballets of social comment by Anna Sokolow, Tamiris, Martha Graham and others, but they have been sporadic and independent of ballet theater organization. The Joos Ballet made a promising start with its "Green Table," but more than ten years later it is still doing only this anti-war piece. During the anti-Franco war a dance scenario was written in an attempt to start a modern ballet dance theater. The script began with the miserable conditions under which the Spanish peasants and workers lived, depicted the changes and hopes that the Republic had introduced, dwelt on the threat of fascism to these hopes, and ended with the defense of Madrid. In many ways it was an ideal script, making use of solo singing, duets, mass chants, poetry, solo and duo dances, group and mass compositions. The music ranged from a single piercing cry to many-voiced chants used in the manner indicated by Milhaud in his *Iphigenia*. However, it was too ambitious an undertaking and the ballet never came off.

A practical ballet company on a smaller scale is, however, not only possible but feasible, and there are, to my knowledge, few better companies than that of Limon to undertake its beginning. It would contribute a tremendous cultural lift to current activities in the dance and the theater.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

50th STREET AND EIGHTH AVENUE

Wednesday, January 22, 1947—8:00 p. m.

SPEAKERS:

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
Chairman, Communist Party, U.S.A.

ROBERT THOMPSON
Chairman, N. Y. State Communist Party

GUEST SPEAKERS:

PROF. J. B. S. HALDANE
World-famous scientist, chairman editorial board, London Daily Worker

ALBERT E. KAHN
Co-author "Great Conspiracy Against Russia"

Singers • Dancers • Sketches • Chorus

Under the supervision and direction of David Pressman

RESERVED SEATS: 60c, $1.00, $1.20, $1.80, $2.40 (tax included)
AVAILABLE NOW AT: Workers Bookshop, 50 East 13th St.; Bookfair, 133 West 44th St.; Jefferson Bookshop, 575 Avenue of the Americas.

Auspices: NEW YORK STATE, COMMUNIST PARTY

9th LECTURE IN THE SERIES OF NEW MASSES FORUMS ON AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

Hear

HOWARD FAST

Distinguished historical Novelist. Author of "Freedom Road" and "The American"

SPEAK ON

TRENDS IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

MONDAY, JANUARY 20th, 1947—8 P.M.

WEBSTER HALL

119 E. 11th St., New York, N. Y.

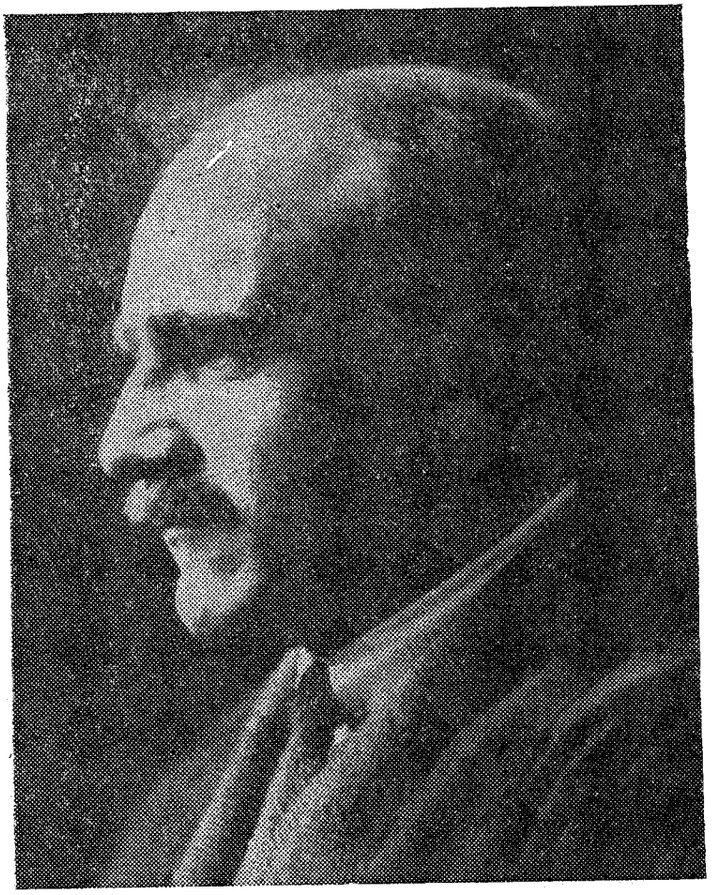
ADMISSION $1.00

RESERVE—Monday, January 27th for a timely and important lecture on American Foreign Policy by John Stuart, Foreign Editor NEW MASSES.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

science or savagery?

• hear



J.B.S. Haldane

world-scientist

Webster Hall

119 East 11th Street, N. Y. C.

Thurs., Jan. 23, 9 p. m.

PITT Squirrel

a new masses special

TICKETS: ONE DOLLAR (tax included)

Bookfair, 133 W. 44th St.
Skazka, 227 W. 46th St.
Workers Bookshop, 50 E. 13th St.
Jefferson Bookshop, 575 Ave. of Americas
AYD Clubs (State Office, 150 Nassau St.)
New Masses, 104 E. 9th St.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED